

## Clinton Angrily Assails Leak of His Testimony

President's Lawyers Demand FBI Inquiry As Tension With Starr's Team Heightens

By Brian Knowlton  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton, in one of his rare comments on the allegations swirling around him, on Thursday angrily denounced an apparently illegal leak of a detailed account of his deposition in the Paula Jones sexual misconduct suit.

"Somebody in this case ought to follow the law," Mr. Clinton said.

Mr. Clinton's private attorneys called the leak "reprehensible" and demanded an FBI investigation of its source.

As they spoke, there was an extraordinary flurry of activity at the federal courthouse here as Vernon Jordan Jr., a close Clinton friend, appeared for a second day of questioning; and William Ginsburg, an attorney for Monica Lewinsky, appeared before a federal judge, apparently to argue against Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, about an offer of immunity for his client.

The dispute over the deposition is the

latest in a series of increasingly acrimonious exchanges between Mr. Clinton's lawyers and the Starr team over vaguely sourced press leaks that appear either to have come from the closed grand jury investigation, from sources close to it, or possibly from White House advocates seeking to deflate sensational charges through preemptive leaks.

Mr. Clinton's five-hour deposition in the Jones case had been held under court seal.

The Washington Post, giving no indication of its source, published an extensive account of the session in its Thursday edition, providing not only the substance of what was said but also descriptions of Mr. Clinton's demeanor that seemingly could come only from a person at the session or from a recording of it. (Page 3).

The Associated Press and CNN quoted unnamed sources as confirming the accuracy of the Post's report.

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Bus-Bomb Blast Kills 32 in Colombo's Business District

Police and rescue workers gathered at the site in Colombo's commercial area of Maradana on Thursday where a bomb explosion killed at least 32 people and wounded hundreds. The remains of the bus in which two bombs had been placed can be seen at center-right. The blasts were attributed to Tamil Tiger guerrillas. Page 4.

## Yugoslavia Opens Offensive Against Albanian Rebels In Kosovo Region

Defying Calls for Restraint, Milosevic Appears Determined To Smash Separatist Movement

By Chris Hedges  
New York Times Service

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia — Serbian security forces Thursday opened the Yugoslav government's largest counterinsurgency operation so far in the fight against separatist rebels in Kosovo Province. Troops cordoned off scores of villages and forced the evacuation of dozens of Serbian families, along with women and children from the ethnic Albanian community.

Serbian police officials said they began the attack in the Drenica region, 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of the provincial capital, Pristina, after a dawn ambush on a police station that left two policemen wounded. The

U.S. punishes Belgrade over crackdown: Page 6.

## Organized Crime Strangles Slovakia

Extortion and Protection Rackets Grow Into a Threat to Business

By Peter S. Green  
International Herald Tribune

BANSKA BYSTRICA, Slovakia — When the mob came calling in August at his office in this provincial capital, Frantisek Mojzis had a good idea what it was after: his business.

But Mr. Mojzis refused to sign over the title to his company, or hire a mob-controlled security service to "protect" his business. Nor did Mr. Mojzis ask Slovakia's marginally effective police force for help when the mob sent played tough with him, enjoining and finally "offering" to take him on a short car ride, Mr. Mojzis recalled recently.

Instead, Mr. Mojzis did what many people do when they find themselves in a period of great trouble. He turned to God.

Rather than take in a mob front man as a silent partner, he decided to try to save his eight-year-old company, Drukos, s.r.o., by signing over ownership to the Roman Catholic Church. The diocese's Society to Aid the Poor and Sick now owns Mr. Mojzis's 5.2 billion koruny (\$150 million)-a-year empire, leasing cars and business machines and building prefabricated homes, while turning some of the profits over to the poor.

"A man's belief shouldn't just express itself in words, but in his deeds as well," Mr. Mojzis said as he nervously smoked a cigarette in his heavily guarded office. He said he was inspired by the example of Banská Bystrica's bishop, the Reverend Rudolf Balaz, a vocal opponent of the heavy-handed rule of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

The demise of communism in 1989 opened the doors for savvy, energetic entrepreneurs like Mr. Mojzis to cash in on the potential for rapid economic growth in Eastern Europe as it embraced capitalism. But through those same doors walked organized crime gangs, and nowhere in Central Europe have these resourceful toughs been more brazen or apparently more politically well-connected than in Slovakia, according to a range of experts, including diplomats, police officers, investigative

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Scott Ritter heads a team of about 50 UN inspectors.

## Moon Survey Finds Evidence of Water

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Small, scattered pockets of water ice have been found beneath the lunar surface by a robot survey spacecraft that has spent the last month mapping the moon.

NASA officials said the usefulness of the water was not immediately clear, because the data from the spacecraft Lunar Prospector show it is scattered in small deposits across thousands of square miles of the lunar poles.

While the evidence of water ice is quite strong, the water signal detected by the spacecraft's instruments is relatively weak, said William Feldman, a Department of Energy researcher participating in the project.

Finding water ice on the moon bolsters tentative plans to establish a permanent lunar base. If water could be mined on the moon, it would ease the need of sending a supply from Earth.

## Saddam's Nemesis Back for Inspection

But Ritter, Earlier Barred as 'Spy,' May Not Visit Presidential Sites

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BAGHDAD — The United Nations weapons inspector Scott Ritter, branded a spy by Iraq, returned to Baghdad on Thursday on a mission that could prove to be an early test of Iraq's pledge to comply with the inspection regime.

Iraq's cooperation with Mr. Ritter, an American who was barred in January from working, may show how far it is ready to carry out a pledge made 10 days ago to give unrestricted access to the inspectors, who believe it is still concealing banned weapons.

Iraq made the commitment in an accord signed by the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, and Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, which defused a crisis over access to eight so-called presidential sites.

Mr. Ritter flew to Habbaniya military airport outside the capital at the head of a team of about 50 inspectors and then traveled by bus to the UN headquarters in Baghdad.

Iraq's official press agency briefly mentioned his arrival in a report on visits carried out Thursday by inspectors of the UN Special Commission, or Unscm, who have continued their work throughout the recent crisis.

In a sign that Iraq was playing down the significance of Mr. Ritter's visit, photographers and television crews were asked not to cover his arrival.

In January, Iraq blocked inspections by Mr. Ritter's team, alleging that he was a spy and that his team was weighted with Americans and Britons.

The move sparked a standoff with the United Nations, and the two sides sparred for weeks over access by UN weapons teams to "sensitive sites," including dozens of President Saddam Hussein's palaces. The United States threatened to attack if Iraq did not allow inspectors access to the sites, while Baghdad said such inspections would violate its sovereignty.

Iraq has pledged that it will comply fully with the deal it signed with Mr. Annan, under which it also promised un-

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## China Slates \$1 Trillion To Safeguard Its Boom

Fighting the Asian Crisis With Public Works

By Seth Faison  
New York Times Service

BEIJING — The leaders of China have devised a plan to spend \$1 trillion on infrastructure projects in the next three years, an ambitious effort to stop the Asian financial crisis from derailing China's economic growth and the political stability that has come with it.

A stimulus package on a stunningly large scale, the plan is intended to counter ill effects from the fall of Chinese exports and foreign investment, once twin engines of a go-go economy. Both are expected to drop sharply this year. Delegates at the opening session of the National People's Congress, an annual meeting of China's legislature, said Thursday the spending plan would be unveiled in the coming days.

Leaders in Beijing have watched with mounting alarm in recent months as one Asian country after another fell into financial crisis. Aware that their own banking and industrial troubles were at least as

serious as in other Asian nations, China's leaders saw the need for a drastic step, and the one they chose is the largest spending plan in the nation's history.

Huang Qifan, deputy secretary-general of the Communist Party in Shanghai, said in an interview that the leadership had decided a full \$1 trillion was needed to keep China's growth rate at 8 percent, a level that many economists say is needed to avert massive unemployment.

The spending plan, Mr. Huang said, will pay for the building of roads, bridges, power plants, sewage treatment plants, water conservation plants and for agricultural projects.


The money will come from eight principal sources, he said, including foreign borrowing, government loans, direct allocations and various forms of public investment. Some of the funding was already in the works as part of

See CHINA, Page 6



Chinese leaders standing for the national anthem Thursday at the opening session of the National People's Congress.

The Dollar			
New York	Thursday 4 P.M.	previous close	
DM	1.8348	1.8185	
Pound	1.635	1.6467	
Yen	127.745	126.97	
FF	6.15	6.102	

	The Dow		
	Thursday close	previous close	
-84.16	8445.08	8539.24	

S&P 500		
change	Thursday 4 P.M.	previous close
-72.26	1035.07	1047.33

### AGENDA

#### United Places \$1.4 Billion Airbus Order

United Airlines has ordered 30 narrow-body aircraft from Airbus Industrie, the European consortium, in a deal valued at about \$1.4 billion.

The airline said it had ordered 20 A320s and 10 A319s. The Airbus A320 costs from \$46 million to \$49 million, and the A319 costs \$41 million to \$46 million.

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The Internet..... Pages 4, 5.  
The IHT on-line: www.ihl.com

## Advertisers Find a Formula They Like in Auto Racing

By Tom Buerkle  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — They are sleek and fast. They travel the globe from Melbourne to Monte Carlo, surrounded by models and princes, actors and corporate moguls, and watched by some 460 million avid television spectators. And there are only 22 in each race.

They are Formula One racing cars. And in this high-tech, high-speed age, they are fast becoming a dream vehicle for the advertising world.

As Michael Schumacher, Jacques Villeneuve and other drivers gear up for the season-opening Aus-

tralian Grand Prix this Sunday, the traditional cigarette and motor-oil logos are increasingly sharing space on racing-car bodies with logos from banking giants like HSBC Holdings PLC, high-technology companies like Hewlett-Packard and Alcatel Alsthom, and even Hollywood's Universal Studios.

The surge in sponsorship attests to the growing appeal of one of the world's most popular annual sporting events. It also provides optimism for the future of a sport that is facing a European ban on tobacco advertising in eight years' time, and tough new scrutiny by antitrust regulators into its costly ties with broadcasters and race-track operators.

HSBC, the London-based parent of the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corp., is paying \$25 million (\$41 million) to sponsor Jackie Stewart's Formula One team for five years. The bank hopes to share in the sport's self-styled image as being modern, technology-driven and successful at risk management.

"We were looking for ways to project the name of the HSBC group globally, and quickly," said Mary Jo Jacobi, the group's head of public affairs. "After the World Cup and the quadrennial Olympic Games, it is the biggest global sport." Formula One is broadcast to

See FORMULA ONE, Page 12

## Evasions Mark Suharto's Steps To Carry Out IMF Reforms

By Seth Mydans  
New York Times Service

JAKARTA — As a decision nears over whether to infuse billions of dollars in international aid to Indonesia, a close look at the performance of President Suharto shows a pattern of evasions and half-measures on the economic reforms he agreed to six weeks ago.

From cars to clothes to banks to plywood, the painful austerity measures Mr. Suharto promised in return for the aid made brief appearances here. But many have disappeared again in a haze of missed deadlines, quick name changes and fiscal shuffling, according to Indonesian and foreign businessmen and economists.

Tax breaks for a "national car" were removed, only to reappear in a new form. Carrels controlled by Mr. Suharto's close friends in clothes and plywood seem to have been dismantled, only to rise again, the experts said.

Banking reform, probably the most critical step in regaining financial stability, appears to have been slowed by the financial interests of the country's elite. The removal of subsidies for basic commodities has been announced several times, only to be delayed as food riots have flared around the country.

Officials of both the United States and the International Monetary Fund warn that unless quick action is taken on these and other reforms, a \$40 billion rescue package could be suspended later this

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Newstand Prices		
Ardena	10.00 FF	Lebanon \$1.3000
Ardena	12.50 FF	Morocco 16 Dh
Cameroon	1.800 CFA	Cote d'Ivoire 12.50 FF
Egypt	5.50 FF	France 10.00 FF
France	10.00 FF	South Africa 10 SR
Ghana	1.100 CFA	Senegal 1.100 CFA
Italy	2.200 Lit	Spain 225 Ptas
Ivory Coast	1.250 CFA	Tunisia 1.250 Din
Jordan	1.250 JD	U.A.E. 10.00 Dh
Kuwait	700 Fils	U.S. Mil. (Eur.) \$1.20





## Neo-Nazi Activity / Rampant Xenophobia

## Shadow of Rightist Violence Hangs Over Germany's Foreigners

By William Drozdiak  
Washington Post Service

**E**BERSWALDE, Germany — When Halis Ozgurek saw 10 rowdy youths with shaved heads and jackboots ambling toward his fast-food stand last New Year's Eve, he feared becoming another victim of the xenophobic violence plaguing Eastern Germany.

The Turkish immigrant figured he would not succumb without a fight. When one of the youths shattered a glass window and another pressed a gun to his temple, Mr. Ozgurek picked up his meat carving knife and slashed a finger off his attacker. When the police arrived, they let the skinheads go free but arrested Mr. Ozgurek on assault and battery charges.

Mr. Ozgurek was released from jail within 48 hours, but rather than flee what most people would consider a hostile environment, he decided to make a stand. He commutes up to two hours each way from a Berlin apartment to run his franchise in this economically depressed town that authorities have identified as one of nine centers of neo-Nazi activity that surround Germany's new capital.

"These people need to learn there are others in this world who may not look, act and talk like them," Mr. Ozgurek said, as three brawny bodyguards stood watch at his establishment to deter any further acts of extremist violence. "I guess I might think differently if I had a wife or kids, but since I'm single I can afford the risk of standing up for my rights."

There was a surge of firebombings against foreign asylum-seekers in the wake of Germany's unification eight years ago. The attacks declined after the police cracked down on the extremists.

But rightist violence is again on the rise, especially in the East, where rampant joblessness and disillusionment with unification are spreading an ugly mood of anger and despair.

Klaus-Dieter Fritzsche, deputy chief of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the German law enforcement agency that monitors extremist groups, says the number of rightist attacks rose last year to 669, an increase of more than 10 percent. More than half the recorded attacks were aimed at foreigners.

Mr. Fritzsche said the number of people in Germany with known far-right sympathies had grown to 48,000, with about 7,600 considered capable of violent acts. Nearly half of them live in Eastern Germany, where most acts of xenophobic violence occur even though foreigners amount to only 1.5 percent of the local pop-



Neo-Nazis shouting slogans during a demonstration in Dresden organized by the National Democratic Party. Extremist violence is on the rise as joblessness and disillusionment with unification spread a mood of despair.

ulation. The majority of Germany's 7 million foreigners live in Berlin or Western cities.

But German authorities say statistics tell only part of the story. They contend that rightist groups are becoming increasingly dangerous because of more effective recruiting methods, improved organizational skills, computer Web sites that disseminate neo-Nazi propaganda and, most ominously, the firepower of their weapons.

In February, the police found a small bomb factory run by neo-Nazis near Jena that contained a small arsenal of dynamite. The local prosecutor, Helmut Roewer, said the discovery showed "a new quality in the weaponry and violent preparations" by rightist groups that suggest they plan to escalate their campaign with terrorist activities.

"Hardly a day passes without some sort of incident," said Cornelia Schmaltz-Jacobson, head of the German government's office of foreigner affairs. "The public appears to be pushing these incidents out of its conscience and is becoming accustomed to the attacks as everyday events."

**S**HE deplored the rise of "foreigner-free zones" that have emerged in many Eastern areas where sullen, unemployed youths cluster in bars or roam the streets while foreigners are warned not to leave their houses alone after dark.

"We have to appeal to local authorities, the schools, the youth groups, the local politicians and the army to make clear that this cannot be tolerated," she said.

Alarmed by the resurgence in rightist extremism, the state of Brandenburg, which surrounds Berlin, has mobilized a 45-member commando squad to respond to emergency calls about neo-Nazi attacks. The rapid-reaction force, equipped with helicopters, special weapons and high-speed vehicles, arrested 23 people in its first week of operations.

Axel Luedders, head of the state's criminal investigations, said the commando unit hoped to capture soon all ring leaders of far-right gangs that speak in Web-site propaganda of liberating Germany from "foreign deviants and enemies."

**C**RIMINAL investigators say that, apart from Eberswalde, they have pinpointed eight other hotbeds of extremist activity within the state of Brandenburg. These are Oranienburg, Neuruppin, Rathenow, Nauen, Mahlow, Luckenwalde, Forst and Hennigsdorf.

But social workers, politicians and local residents say it will be hard to eliminate the root causes of rightist extremism in these areas, where the job picture is so bleak and frustrations so intense in coping with the legacy of 57 years of Nazi and Communist dictatorships that many young people find a misguided form of self-esteem in xenophobic doctrines.

"Many parents feel overwhelmed by this society because they depended for so long on the state and the party to train their children," said Marita Boettger, the Eberswalde official in charge of contacts with foreigners. "So a lot of young people are running around without any kind of values, and they fall for these primitive ideas about national superiority. And it all grows in an atmosphere of ignorance and indifference."

Eberswalde became notorious for neo-Nazi activity when a young Angolan immigrant, Antonio Amadeu, was beaten into a coma in 1990. He became the first fatality in the wave of rightist extremist attacks against foreigners that swept Eastern Germany right after unification.

Birgit Eipel, a social worker for the Lutheran church, has been trying to inculcate tolerance for foreigners among local schoolchildren by teaching them about Germany's debt to history. She has organized trips to Israel and to concentration camps to increase awareness of the devastating consequences of extreme-rightist ideology.

But Miss Eipel acknowledges that her efforts have met with limited success. "We make these nice contacts on trips with people in Israel, France or Britain, but then we have a hard time convincing them to visit us," she said.

## Ford Charged With Profiting From War-Era German Unit

By Blaine Harden  
Washington Post Service

**NEW YORK** — A German subsidiary of Ford Motor Co. has been accused in a class-action lawsuit of having "knowingly earned enormous profits" from the use of forced labor in Nazi Germany during World War II.

Bot a spokesman for the company said the plant had been under Nazi control during the war and that Ford had never received wartime profits from it. The suit alleges that Ford Werke, a company in Cologne that made trucks for the German Army, had been "an eager, aggressive and successful bidder" for thousands of Russian, Ukrainian, Italian and Belgian civilians who were transported into Germany and forced to work under "utterly barbarous conditions."

The charges come at a time when, more than a half century after World War II, the victims of Hitler's Germany and their survivors are seeking financial recompense for state-sanctioned theft and other crimes that accompanied the Holocaust.

The suit, filed in Newark, New Jersey, marks the most pointed allegations of illegal wartime profiteering made against an American company with assets in Nazi Germany.

Throughout the war years, the suit claims that Ford — unlike most American-owned companies, which were either nationalized or confiscated — maintained a controlling 52 percent interest in its German subsidiary. The suit also says that during those years high-ranking officials in the Dearborn, Michigan, company, including the company's president, Edsel Ford, were in contact with German managers at Ford Werke in order to exert management control and take "substantial profits."

Ford did not categorically deny allegations made in the lawsuit. A statement by John Rintamaki, the company secretary, began by saying, "First, it must be said that by anyone's measure this was one of the darkest periods of history mankind has known."

Citing "existing records" and the work "of a number of prominent historians," Mr. Rintamaki said "the plant was under Nazi control and out-turned to Ford control until after the war."

The company also said its records showed that Ford never received wartime profits from the Cologne plant. Historians for years have known that forced labor was used at the company's plant in Cologne during the war. But no documentation has surfaced showing control, influence or secret contracts during the war between Ford executives in the United States and German management, according to Simon Reich, a professor at the University of Pittsburgh who has written extensively on this subject.

Melvyn Weiss, the senior plaintiff lawyer in the suit, said he had "evidence of continued communication between Edsel Ford with the company's operation in Germany throughout the war."

Mr. Weiss declined to say what kind of evidence he had gathered. The suit seeks payments of unpaid wages and any profits derived from forced labor, plus interest, and punitive damages.

## After a Rare Ousting, a Rare Reuniting of Priest and Church

By Celestine Bohlen  
New York Times Service

**ROME** — It was a year ago that the Vatican announced its remarkable judgment in the case of the Reverend Tissa Balasuriya, finding the Sri Lankan priest, then 72, guilty of heresy for his radical views on salvation and the Virgin Mary, and declared him excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church.

This conflict over what is and what is not Catholic doctrine has now ended in a private chapel in Colombo, Sri Lanka, where Father Balasuriya was reunited with his church and the excommunication order was formally lifted.

It was a surprise ending in a case that had been an exception.

Excommunication — the harshest sentence in the church's canon law — has been rarely used in recent decades. Typically, dissident theologians

have been allowed to remain in the church but have been banned from teaching Catholic theology.

It is also rare in the history of Roman Catholicism that dissidents have gone up against the formidable keepers of doctrinal orthodoxy — now the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, but better known in centuries past as the Holy Office — and emerged unscathed.

Not that the Vatican retracted its criticism of Father Balasuriya's views, which were published in a slim volume titled "Mary and Human Liberation," with only 500 copies originally printed. His book took a critical look at the devotion accorded the Virgin Mary, and rejected the doctrine of original sin, saying babies do not need to be baptized in order to be saved.

Remarkably, there was also no retraction from Father Balasuriya, who on Jan. 15 signed a short reconciliation statement after intense discussions mediated by the superior-general of his Rome-

based missionary order, the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception.

"There was no retraction because they have not proved any error," Father Balasuriya said recently from his Center for Society and Religion in Colombo.

"It was the perceptions and ambiguities perceived by others that led to polarization, and that I regret. But what I signed was no retraction whatsoever," he said.

Now the case is being closely examined to see which side backed off.

The Reverend Thomas Reese, an American Jesuit who has written on the workings of the Vatican, said it was "surprising to see somebody excommunicated and then unexcommunicated so quickly."

From the defenders of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, there is, however, another view.

"The one who made concessions is the man

himself," said the Reverend Peter Gumpel, a Jesuit scholar based in Rome. "This was a clear retraction of a number of things that he had stated."

The statement was more to the art of diplomacy than to theological debate. In it, Father Balasuriya writes of "serious ambiguities and doctrinal errors" that were "perceived in my writings and therefore provoked negative reactions from other parties."

He also agreed to sign a "profession of faith" similar to one he had proposed to the Vatican 18 months ago, minus one offending paragraph. The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith had dropped its insistence on a profession of faith specially drawn up for Father Balasuriya that had included among 35 points of doctrine a phrase repeating the Vatican's ban on the ordination of women. He also agreed to submit future writings on faith and morals to his superiors for review — a concession that some say may have been the most important for the Vatican.

## WEATHER

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by AccuWeather.



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## TRAVEL UPDATE

## Poles Plan Tax Refund

**WARSAW** (Reuters) — The government's economic committee approved draft legislation Thursday that would allow tourists to be refunded the value-added tax paid on goods as they exit Poland.

The legislation, which must be approved by the full cabinet and Parliament, would bring regulations closer to those of the European Union. Poland levies a 22 percent tax on most products.

"The bill envisages returning VAT at the borders," Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz said. "The refund will be made for goods of value above a certain level, which remains to be determined."

Archaeologists in Rome have stumbled on a richly colored wall fresco, thought to be 2,000 years old, of a detailed cityscape that experts say could be a birds-eye view of the ancient capital. The painting was found in a dark passageway at the Trajan Baths in the city center.

The U.S. Postal Service is giving up much of the landmark Farley Post Office in New York City, clearing the way to convert the elegant old building into a new Pennsylvania Station to house Amtrak and other rail connections. Money for the \$315 million project — across the street from the existing Penn Station — has been appropriated, and many of the plans have been drawn up in anticipation of federal approval of the renovation.

## Click and Bet? New York City Unplugs 14 On-Line Bookies

By Benjamin Weiser  
New York Times Service

**NEW YORK** — Pursuing the first federal prosecution of sports gambling over the Internet, the authorities in New York City have charged 14 owners and managers of offshore companies with illegally using interstate phone lines to take on-line bets from Americans who placed their bets with the click of a mouse.

The case against the defendants, who are all Americans and maintain that their business has been operating openly and legally, comes in an industry that has seen explosive growth in recent years.

The government said Wednesday that on-line sports betting had garnered about \$600 million in gross revenue last year, up from about \$60 million in 1996.

In January alone, the on-line betting services received about 40,000 "hits," according to prosecutors, which were largely associated with betting on the Super Bowl.

The government said it was not charging any bettors who used the Internet sites but that the prosecution should serve as a warning that such activity is illegal.

It was unclear Wednesday, however, what the impact of the prosecution would be.

Gambling experts said that the size and anonymity of the Internet would make it impossible for the government to shut down the burgeoning industry, which consists of at least several dozen known betting services.

"You're never going to see a shut-down," said Anthony Cabot, a gambling law expert in Las Vegas. "What you're going to see is a number of people being dissuaded from entering the industry and those who are in the industry are going to take much greater precaution in hiding their ownership if they are U.S. citizens."

In moving against the executives of the offshore companies, which are based in the Caribbean and Central America, prosecutors said they were concerned that the use of the Web had vastly expanded the market for illegal gambling in the United States, and consequently increased the risks associated with betting on professional and amateur sports.

"Cybergambling over the Internet greatly multiplies all of these risks," said Mary Jo White, the U.S. attorney in Manhattan, whose office announced the charges Wednesday.

Ms. White said the "instantaneous access" of on-line betting was an irresistible lure both to global bookies and potential gamblers who could bet and lose large amounts of money without ever leaving home.

Europe	Today	High	Low	Temp	High	Low	Temp
Algeria	32/37	10/55	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Amsterdam	54/68	44/68	10/55	32/37	10/55	32/37	15/58
Antwerp	12/22	4/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Athens	16/21	9/21	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Berlin	17/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Brussels	7/14	3/14	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Budapest	10/20	4/20	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Copenhagen	4/10	4/10	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Dublin	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Edinburgh	3/10	3/10	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Frankfurt	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Geneva	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Helsinki	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Interlaken	10/20	4/20	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Kiev	24/32	16/32	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
La Paz	24/32	16/32	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
London	20/30	14/30	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Madrid	23/33	14/33	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Moscow	19/24	9/24	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Munich	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Nairobi	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Paris	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Riga	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Rome	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Saint Petersburg	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Stockholm	12/22	10/22	32/37	15/58	32/37	10/55	15/58
Taipei	24/32	16/32	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
Tokyo	24/32	16/32	14/27	9/45	14/27	9/45	14/27
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## THE AMERICAS

## A Glimpse at Clinton's Deposition in the Jones Case

By Peter Baker  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The most detailed account to date of President Bill Clinton's sealed deposition in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case shows that Mr. Clinton acknowledged he had talked with his close friend and adviser Vernon Jordan Jr. about his efforts to find a new job for Monica Lewinsky, but that it was his personal secretary who initiated the career help for the former White House intern.

During Mr. Clinton's five-hour deposition on Jan. 17, the president testified that he saw Ms. Lewinsky at the White House on perhaps five occasions and that they may have been alone together. But the president denied ever having had sexual relations with Ms. Lewinsky, according to the account of the deposition.

For the purposes of the deposition, Mrs. Jones's lawyers produced a written definition of sexual relations that encompassed such acts as fondling and oral sex but not kissing on the mouth — a definition that leaves Mr. Clinton little room to offer a revised explanation of his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky.

In recent weeks, some advisers have suggested possible scenarios in which the president might admit to intimate contact short of the oral sex Ms. Lewinsky reportedly has claimed occurred, but any contradiction with his testimony in the deposition now risks a perjury charge.

In the deposition, Mr. Clinton acknowledged that he once mentioned the Jones case to Ms. Lewinsky, telling her that many women who knew him were being summoned to testify and that she might be among them. But he testified that that was the extent of the conversation. Mr. Clinton said he was not sure whether he knew at that time that Ms. Lewinsky had been subpoenaed.

Mr. Clinton said he was aware that his personal secretary, Betty Currie, had arranged for Ms. Lewinsky to be interviewed for a job by the American ambassador to the United Nations, Bill Richardson — a meeting that took place in October — and that Mrs. Currie later contacted Mr. Jordan for help with job prospects in the private sector. While that was not done at his suggestion, he said, he believed it was proper.

Although the president offered few specifics, he said Mr. Jordan told him that he had been talking with Ms. Lewinsky about jobs, and that he had indicated his support.

It was secret tape recordings of Ms. Lewinsky's discussion of a sexual relationship with Mr. Clinton — and her assertion in those ostensibly private conversations with a friend

**In the sealed deposition, Mr. Clinton offered no explanation for his frequent contacts with Ms. Lewinsky or why he was kept informed about a former low-level aide's job search.**

that the president had urged her to lie about it — that sparked the investigation by the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr is now trying to determine whether the president suborned perjury or attempted to obstruct justice.

Mr. Starr has obtained a copy of Mr. Clinton's deposition through the Little Rock court where the Jones case is scheduled to go to trial on May 27.

Mr. Clinton's legal team in the Jones matter was informed on Dec. 5 that Ms. Lewinsky was a potential witness. So the president's interactions with her and Mr. Jordan after that point are key to Mr. Starr's investigation.

For Mr. Clinton, the deposition was an excruciating look into his intimate past.

Mrs. Jones's lawyers, those who are familiar with the deposition said, tried to question him not only about Mrs. Jones and Ms. Lewinsky, but also about five other women. The president's mood seemed generally sober, but as the hours wore on there were moments of pique as well, this account goes.

His voice was so low at times that he was asked repeatedly to speak up. At a couple of points, Mr. Clinton seemed agitated, once complaining about conservative attacks on him and later seeming to dare the Jones lawyers to throw any question at him that they could come up with.

While Mrs. Jones was the plaintiff, much of the interrogation by her lawyers actually centered on Ms. Lewinsky. Mr. Clinton acknowledged exchanging gifts with the young woman — she gave him a tie and at least one book, he recalled, while he gave her souvenirs from Martha's Vineyard and did not dispute that he may also have given her a hat pin, a gold brooch and a book of Walt Whitman poetry.



William Ginsburg, left, Monica Lewinsky's attorney, arriving Thursday at federal court in Washington to pursue his petition that the independent counsel's subpoena of his client be thrown out. His co-counsel, Nathaniel Speights, was with him.

In addition to denying a sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, Mr. Clinton repeated his denial that he asked Mrs. Jones for oral sex in a Little Rock hotel suite in 1991. He also denied having had any sexual contact with three of the other women he was asked about.

U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright, who was present for the deposition, ruled that he did not have to answer questions about a fourth woman, because she had no state or federal employment.

But Mr. Clinton acknowledged for the first time that he did have sexual relations with Jennifer Flowers, saying it occurred just one time in 1977.

The president has offered no explanation for his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky beyond emphatic denials that they engaged in sex.

In the sealed deposition, Mr. Clinton offered no explanation for his frequent contacts with Ms. Lewinsky or why he was kept informed about a former low-level aide's job search. Nor was he asked by Mrs. Jones's lawyers to do so.

Mr. Jordan has said that he embarked on a job search for Ms. Lewinsky after being asked to do so by Mrs. Currie. He has told associates that he assumed the request had come from the president. Those associates said Mr. Jordan has said he was not aware when he first intervened to help Ms. Lewinsky that she was involved in the Jones case, even though Mrs. Currie's call asking for his help came three days after Mr. Clinton's lawyers were told she might testify.

Later, Mr. Jordan told the associates, both Ms. Lewinsky and Mr. Clinton assured him that they had no sexual relationship.

To those in the room where the questioning took place for the Jones deposition, Mr. Clinton appeared to keep his composure and answered in measured terms.

In response to many of the particular questions, his language was imprecise. He said he did not recall certain events or know for sure if he had done some things he was asked about, although he often allowed that it was possible.

But when the allegations regarding sex were raised, Mr. Clinton answered in firm, declarative sentences or unequivocal one-word answers like "no."

Rather than asking the president direct, perhaps uncomfortable, questions about specific sex acts, Mrs. Jones's lawyers produced at the outset the written description of what they meant whenever they asked about sexual relations.

Under that definition, sexual relations meant any contact with someone's groin, buttocks, breast or inner thigh if intended to stimulate sexual arousal. No specific menage was made of kissing lips.

Unbeknownst to Mr. Clinton or his lawyers, Mrs. Jones's legal team had brought a secret weapon — full briefings from Linda

prime evidence of a pattern of behavior by Mr. Clinton.

In some ways, Mr. Clinton's sworn answers to questions about his ties with Ms. Lewinsky conflict with information that has been reported since the deposition. Most notably, he gave Mrs. Jones's lawyers a significantly different account of his last meeting with the intern.

During the deposition, he said he saw her briefly just before Christmas when she stopped by to visit Mrs. Currie and he stuck his head out of the Oval Office to say hello.

But White House eery logs that have been turned over to Mr. Starr's office showed that Ms. Lewinsky visited the White House the Sunday after Christmas, Dec. 28. Sources familiar with the session have said she met with Mr. Clinton, and the sources said they were not aware of anyone present besides the two of them.

The president said in the deposition that he had nothing to do with Ms. Lewinsky's being given a paid clerk's position in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs on Nov. 26, 1995.

After she left for a Pentagon job in April 1996, Ms. Lewinsky sent more than a half-dozen packages by courier to Mrs. Currie at the White House. At least some of the messages were intended for Mr. Clinton, the president acknowledged, although he characterized them as holiday cards or notes about how to recruit young people to work on White House activities.

Many people send things to him through Mrs. Currie, Mr. Clinton said, because there is a better chance they will actually reach him and not be lost in the piles of unsolicited mail that swamp the White House.

Under the rules of discovery, Mrs. Jones's lawyers were granted latitude to ask about other women, and they walked Mr. Clinton through a list of women who rumor had it he had been involved with.

Mr. Clinton said he remembered meeting with Kathleen Willey, a White House volunteer, on Nov. 29, 1993, when she came to him seeking a full-time job because of family financial problems. Mrs. Willey was so emotional that the encounter stood out, Mr. Clinton said, but he denied her account of an unsolicited sexual advance.

In her own deposition, sources who know of it have said, Mrs. Willey testified that Mr. Clinton took her into the hallway between the Oval Office and his private pantry, kissed her, put his hand on her breast, put her hand on his crotch and said, "I wanted to do that for a long time."

Mr. Clinton disputed the account, saying he embraced her and may have kissed her on the forehead in an attempt to comfort her because of her obvious anguish.

## POLITICAL NOTES

## FBI Holds Fund-Raising Suspect

WASHINGTON — Yogesh Gandhi, suspected of illegally funneling \$325,000 in foreign contributions to the Democratic Party, was arrested by the FBI on unrelated fraud charges as he prepared to fly home to India, the Justice Department announced Thursday. Mr. Gandhi was taken into custody without incident Wednesday at his home in Walnut Creek, California.

It was also learned that the department's campaign finance task force planned to file unspecified charges later Thursday against another Democratic fund-raiser, Johnny Chung. Mr. Chung and his attorney have been engaged in plea bargaining with prosecutors and there were indications they had reached an agreement.

Mr. Chung, a California businessman, alleges that in 1995 he was solicited for money by a White House staffer, delivered a \$50,000 check to Hillary Rodham Clinton's office and then was allowed to bring a group of Chinese business people to the White House to watch President Bill Clinton deliver his weekly radio address.

Mr. Gandhi was to be brought before a U.S. magistrate in San Francisco on Thursday on a mail fraud charge. He is accused of obtaining corporate American Express cards for himself and his wife, Krisol Marshall, in 1993 by forging a co-worker's name on the application. In essence, the task force seized on the unrelated fraud case to prevent Mr. Gandhi from leaving the country. (AP)

## New Salvo Is Leveled at Starr

WASHINGTON — A week after Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel investigating President Bill Clinton, ordered a White House official to the grand jury to account for negative accusations spread about prosecutors, the president's aides have circulated a new batch of material critical of Mr. Starr's performance as a lawyer for General Motors Corp.

The material summarized a complaint filed Monday by a South Carolina plaintiff's lawyer that asks the Justice Department to investigate Mr. Starr for obstruction of justice.

The complaint, by J. Kendall Few, asserts that Mr. Starr sought to cover up perjurious testimony in a civil lawsuit in which Mr. Few's clients had been injured in a car accident. Mr. Few said Mr. Starr misused the lawyer-client privilege in an appeals court argument to conceal false testimony given by an engineer for General Motors during previous trials over the combustibility of fuel tanks.

Justice Department officials said Wednesday that they would read Mr. Few's complaint before deciding whether it merited a more formal review. (NYT)

## Quote/Unquote

Senator Paul Coverdell, Republican of Georgia and co-sponsor of a resolution to overturn President Clinton's certification of Mexico as cooperating fully in efforts to curb drug trafficking: "By almost any objective standard, Mexico has clearly failed to satisfy the legal criteria required for certification." (WP)

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## Away From Politics

• Evenflo Co. is recalling 800,000 of its "On My Way" child carrier-car seats because of a faulty handle that can lead to a baby's being dumped out. When the seat is used as a carrier outside a car, the locking mechanism on the handle can slip, allowing the seat to slip forward and tossing the baby out. (AP)

• The first woman to pilot a space shuttle, Eileen Collins, will also be the first woman to lead a U.S. space mission. At a White House ceremony, Ms. Collins was promoted to space shuttle commander, a landmark in the 37 years of the U.S. space program. (AP)

• Seven people were hospitalized after a commercial jet hit turbulence over Nevada. Alaska Airlines Flight 684 with 100 people aboard was heading from Seattle to Las Vegas when the 737 hit rough weather near Reno, where it was diverted for an emergency landing. (AP)

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## ASIA/PACIFIC

# Bombs Placed On Bus Kill 32 In Colombo

The Associated Press

COLOMBO — At least two bombs on a bus exploded Thursday in the business section of Sri Lanka's capital, killing at least 32 people, including schoolchildren, and injuring 305 others, the authorities said.

Suspicion fell on guerrillas of the nation's Tamil minority. The bombs, apparently placed on each side of the bus, ripped the fronts off buildings, knocked over a van that apparently had been carrying schoolchildren, and scattered shrapnel. The dead included at least three children and two police officers, police and Defense Ministry spokesmen said.

The wounded were taken to Colombo's main hospital.

There was no immediate claim of responsibility, but Police Superintendent Palitha Perera said, "It definitely looks like the work of the Tigers." The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are the main separatist force in Sri Lanka.

Mr. Perera said an officer on a motorcycle was chasing a bus involved in a hit-and-run collision with a car when the bus exploded. The driver of the bus, believed to be a suicide bomber, was among the dead. He was the only person aboard the bus. It was not immediately clear whether the bombs had been in the bus or alongside it.

The explosion occurred just after noon at the intersection of several of the city's busiest streets and near a police station. The front of the train station was badly damaged, and the police station slightly damaged. At least 40 vehicles were destroyed and about 50 nearby shops were damaged, the police said.

On Jan. 25, days before independence celebrations were held at the country's most important Buddhist shrine, bombers attacked the temple just east of Colombo. Fifteen people were killed.



An Indonesian woman fell as she was caught between riot police and student protesters Thursday in Bandung.

## BRIEFLY

## Hong Kong Bomb Points to Triads

HONG KONG — A security guard heard a bang and discovered the remains of a bomb outside a department store Thursday, the third such incident in four days, the police said. No injuries were reported.

Saying the cases may be a "malicious" attempt to cause panic, the police indicated that they suspected activity by gangs called triads.

## Outrage Over Cambodia Murder

PHNOM PENH — Human rights workers and the dissident politician Sam Rainsy denounced on Thursday the murder of a Cambodian royalist party official and said the killing appeared timed to intimidate the opposition.

Sam Tevy, widow of Brigadier General Kim Sang, said she doubted her husband's killer would ever be brought to justice. General Kim Sang was shot and killed by a motorcycleist Wednesday as he drove to work. (Reuters)

## For the Record

Choking smoke from hundreds of wildfires covered two provincial cities on eastern Borneo on Thursday, and other blazes were reported on Sumatra. The fires have raised fears of a haze even worse than the one that covered Southeast Asia last year. (AP)

Water receded and unseasonably heavy rains eased Thursday in southwestern Pakistan, where rescue workers dug through mud and debris looking for survivors of flash floods that killed at least 100 people. (AP)

# A Kingly Magazine Cover Irks Suharto Administration

By Cindy Shiner  
Washington Post Service

JAKARTA — A magazine cover depicting President Suharto as the King of Spades during the sensitive period leading up to the election next week has prompted the government to threaten legal action against one of the nation's most outspoken and respected publications.

The editors of D&R magazine wrote in the March 7 issue that they chose the cover because "no matter how many times we turn the card, President Suharto will still be elected."

The authorities called in one of the magazine's editors for questioning Thursday, and reporters and editors were meeting to discuss how to deal with any crackdown. Student protesters waved copies of the magazine on a Jakarta campus where they were demanding Thursday that the government undertake economic and political reforms.

"The cover of that magazine is an insult to our national constitution," local newspapers quoted Information Minister R. Hartono as saying Wednesday. "In my opinion it is very degrading because Suharto is not a king and we do not have a kingdom here."

Opposition activists routinely criticize the administration as feudalistic. The People's Consultative Assembly, the country's most powerful policymaking body and largely appointed by Mr. Suharto, is set to elect Mr. Suharto to a seventh five-year term next week.

D&R reporters said Mr. Hartono had threatened to take the magazine to court, which could lead to the suspension of its publishing license. Journalists said the printer was afraid to issue the magazine unless editors removed the crown on top of Mr. Suharto's head and replaced the letter "K" with "P" for president, which they did. The unaltered version could have been even more provocative. D&R stands for Detective and Ro-

mance but is soon to be changed to For Democracy and Reform.

Discontent fueled by the economic crisis has made the Indonesian press more outspoken, according to Endy Bayuni, the managing editor of the Jakarta Post.

The press is one of the few forums in Indonesia for popular expression, while the wider-reaching television and radio broadcasts are largely controlled by the government or businessmen connected to the Suharto family. People cannot form political parties, most unions are under the government's control and there is a ban on large gatherings and demonstrations.

"There's a lot of angry people out there," Mr. Bayuni said. "Angry because the economy's getting out of control, angry because they lost their jobs, and most of this anger or criticism is actually targeted at the government because they're the ones who are managing the economy."

In the past, the authorities might have silenced by now some of the more outspoken publications, but the government appears hesitant to do anything that might draw criticism from Western donors who are concerned about Mr. Suharto's delay in carrying out economic restructuring.

## Protests Continue in 7 Cities

Riot police were stationed outside university campuses Thursday as thousands of students continued anti-government protests in seven cities, The Associated Press reported.

About 200 armed police stood at the entrance of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, where about 200 students rallied peacefully over the government's handling of the economic crisis. "We want peaceful change, and we need a new president," a student speaker said at a demonstration Thursday.

# THE INTERMARKET

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EUROPE

# Blair Makes Peace Move

## Invitation to Adams Comes Amid 'Optimism'

BELFAST — Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain signaled his intention Thursday to get the IRA's political wing back into Northern Ireland talks and said he was optimistic about the chances of peace.

Mr. Blair's chief spokesman said a letter would be sent to the Sinn Fein leader, Gerry Adams, asking him to come to the prime minister's office in London for a meeting.

Sinn Fein has been temporarily expelled from the peace talks as a result of the police's connecting its Irish Republican Army military wing to two killings. Although the party is free to return to the talks Monday, it has said it will not do so until Mr. Blair grants its leaders a face-to-face meeting.

"The prime minister is likely to respond soon to Gerry Adams's request for a meeting," Mr. Blair's spokesman said. "We don't expect the meeting to take place before the second half of next week."

Sinn Fein, which wants a united Ireland, said it would announce its response in Dublin.

The slaying Tuesday night of a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, close friends since childhood who were drinking together in a bar, appeared to have spurred peace efforts.

Political leaders from both sides of the sectarian divide traveled to the scene at Poyntzpass, 65 kilometers (40 miles) south of Belfast, to express anger and console relatives.

But the Social Democratic Labor Party, a Catholic group, denied reports that the parties to the peace talks had agreed to draft proposals for a Northern Ireland assembly. "That report is utterly and totally inaccurate," a spokesman said.

Nevertheless, Mr. Blair told his cabinet there were "real grounds for optimism" that the talks would succeed, despite a spate of killings since Christmas, which have been attributed to Catholic and Protestant extremists.

His spokesman said Britain and Ireland hoped for agreement among participants on "points of substance" next month to pave the way for referendums in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. London and Dublin have pledged to hold the votes on any constitutional deal that emerges from the talks.



Police arresting one of seven alleged members of Algeria's Armed Islamic Group in the raid Thursday.

# Brussels Police Hold Suspected Algeria Radicals

BRUSSELS — The police ended a tense standoff with a suspected Algerian terrorist Thursday without bloodshed. 14 hours after raiding a house and arresting six other members of an Islamic militant group believed to be responsible for mass killings in Algeria and bomb attacks in France.

"It is all over," Yves Jonghe d'Ardoye, mayor of Ixelles, the Brussels neighborhood where the police raided a house to arrest the suspected terrorists. Six men were detained during the day. A seventh barricaded himself inside and kept the police at bay with a Kalashnikov assault rifle and hand grenades. Tear gas was used to end the standoff.

Interior Minister Johan Vande Lanotte said the authorities believed the men were important members of a European-based support network for Algeria's Armed Islamic Group, including at least one believed to have played a role in the July 1995 underground train bombing in Paris that killed eight people. "We touched quite an important group of this terrorist group," Mr. Vande Lanotte said.

### BRIEFLY

## Accused Nazi Collaborator Says He Is Conspiracy Victim

BORDEAUX, France — The accused Nazi collaborator Maurice Papoo said Thursday on the last day of testimony in his lengthy war crimes trial that his accusers had conspired to defame France and its civil service.

In an agitated voice, Mr. Papoo, 87, alleged that the state prosecutor had earlier protected a senior Vichy official, adding that the charges against him were flawed and "read like a bad novel."

Mr. Papoo's lawyer, Jean-Marc Varaut, also announced that he had filed charges against the Nazi hunter Serge Klarsfeld, father of the civil plaintiff lawyer Arno Klarsfeld, accusing him of trying to pressure jurors with his statements about the trial.

But the actual law — and the limits it should impose — were left for government and opposition negotiators to settle.

Mr. Kohl's Christian Democratic Union wanted to protect only clergy, defense attorneys and members of Parliament from state snooping. (AP)

## Vote Leaves Slovaks in Crisis

BRATISLAVA — Slovakia's fractious Parliament failed Thursday in a second round of voting to elect a president to succeed Michal Kovac, leaving the country mired in a political and constitutional crisis.

A first ballot in the second round ended in deadlock, as widely expected, when neither of the two presidential candidates got the three-fifths majority needed to win.

Slovakia has been without a head of state since Monday when Mr. Kovac stepped down at the end of his term. (Reuters)

## Kohl Loses on Bill to Curb Bugs

BONN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl lost a parliamentary vote for the first time since 1995 on Thursday when the lower house passed a law limiting controversial new constitutional powers for crime fighters to bug private households.

Dissidents in the Free Democratic Party, the smallest in the three-party ruling coalition, joined opposition lawmakers in imposing more limits on the electronic surveillance than Mr. Kohl's side wanted.

After years of debate, Parliament curbed constitutional privacy guarantees last month to allow the government to listen in on conversations in private homes for the first time in postwar Germany.

## Turkish Party Regains Stature

ANKARA — Islamist politicians in Turkey on Thursday reclaimed their status as the largest party in the officially secular country's Parliament.

"Independent deputy Fehim Adak has joined the Virtue Party," an official at the speaker's office said. Mr. Adak's membership brought the new Islamist Virtue Party's parliamentary strength to 140.

Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz's Motherland Party has 139 deputies. Mr. Yilmaz, a conservative, heads a minority coalition kept in office by a leftist group fiercely opposed to the Islamists. (Reuters)

# War Crimes Panel Cuts Bosnian Croat's Term

THE HAGUE — The United Nations war crimes tribunal on Thursday halved the prison sentence of a Bosnian Croat convicted of slaughtering Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, basing its decision on his youth and his expressions of remorse.

A three-judge panel of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia ruled that Drazen Erdemovic, 26, should spend five years in prison instead of 10. He has been in jail for two years, so he will be freed in 2000.

Mr. Erdemovic admitted killing Bosnian Muslims after the UN "safe haven" of Srebrenica was overrun by Bosnian Serb soldiers in mid-1995. He said he killed about 70 people, shooting them one by one, but that he was forced to take part in the massacre or be shot by the Bosnian Serbs himself.

Mr. Erdemovic pleaded guilty to war crimes charges in January, after the tribunal's judges overturned a conviction on the more serious charge of crimes against humanity.

The judges said they took into account Mr. Erdemovic's remorse, the fact that he turned himself in and his cooperation with prosecutors. He also told investigators about a previously unknown massacre in Srebrenica and testified at a hearing against the top war crimes suspects in Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic. (Reuters, AP)

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## INTERNATIONAL

## Divisions in Congress Party Boosting Rivals' Confidence

By John F. Burns  
New York Times Service

NEW DELHI — With its opponents in scorching disarray, India's main Hindu nationalist party grew increasingly confident Thursday that it will form the country's new government, although probably not for another week.

When election results earlier this week showed a neck-and-neck finish between two rival political blocs — one led by the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party and the other by the Congress (I) Party — the stage seemed set for a protracted period of power-broking, with both sides claiming the right to govern.

But when the Congress Party's leadership met in New Delhi for four hours Thursday the meeting broke up in disagreement over the viability of any attempt to form a government.

The issue was put off for at least a day as members of the party's Central Working Committee fell into dispute over jangled election tactics and, crucially, over who should lead the party in Parliament and thus be its candidate for prime minister if a bid for power is made.

Several of the party's most influential leaders have said publicly that they believe the Congress Party would do better to choose a period in opposition.

Another group, believed to be in the majority, is said to support the course favored by Sitaram Keshi, the 82-year-old party president. He hopes to achieve a coalition government with the United Front, a third major political bloc, which formed the minority government that collapsed in December.

In any case, it seemed probable Thursday that no new government will be formed before March 12, the date set by the country's Election Commission for a formal notification of the election results. The delay, to allow counting of votes in several parliamentary districts where balloting has yet to be completed, appeared to mean that President K.R. Narayan will wait until then before inviting one of the party leaders, probably the Bharatiya Janata Party's Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to become prime minister.

Between them, the Congress Party and the United Front, which is a coalition of 13 regional and leftist parties, have 264 seats in the 545-seat Parliament, a narrow margin over the 250 seats won by the alliance led by the Bharatiya Janata Party. To form a government that can be sure of winning a parliamentary vote of confidence, each side will need 273 votes, so each needs to bolster its ranks with recruits from among 21 newly elected deputies who belong to none of the three major groups.

Even before the schism developed in the Congress Party, the underlying parliamentary arithmetic appeared to favor the alliance led by the Bharatiya Janata Party, since at least one group in the United Front, a 12-member bloc from the southern state of Andhra Pradesh, has equivocated on its position and hinted that it may switch sides.

Other moves have suggested a gathering momentum for the Bharatiya Janata Party among the splinter parties and independent members making up the floating group of 21 members.

One senior Bharatiya Janata Party leader, Pramod Mahajan, who is general secretary, said Thursday that the party had already won assurances of support from 10 of the 21. In addition, Mr. Mahajan said, his party expected pledges from other groups not to vote against a government led by the Bharatiya Janata Party.

"So we have already crossed 260 seats, and I think this is a working majority," he said.

The most telling sign of disunity in the Congress Party was its failure to agree on who should become its parliamentary leader. Reverting to a dynastic reflex that many in the party see as one of its main liabilities, the leadership sent an emissary to Sonia Gandhi, the Italian-born widow and daughter-in-law of two previous Congress Party prime ministers, Rajiv and Indira Gandhi, and asked her to settle the matter.

Although Mrs. Gandhi led the Congress election campaign, drawing huge crowds across the country that probably saved the party from a far worse showing

than it achieved, she holds no formal leadership position. It was not clear how she would react to the suggestion that she become the party's kingmaker. It was clear, however, that Mrs. Gandhi would not take the post herself, since she was not a candidate in the election and is thus not eligible to be parliamentary leader, not at least without running in a by-election or getting herself nominated to the Parliament's upper house.

Party sources said that the dispute on the choice of a parliamentary leader reflected a much deeper divide and that this dispute also found expression in the disagreement on postelection strategy.

Essentially, the divide seemed to array around Mr. Keshi a group of veteran leaders, many in their 70s and even 80s. Opposing them is a much younger group, including such men as Madhav Rao Scindia, 53, a former cabinet minister who is said to be favored by Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Scindia, a former maharajah, has been a strong voice for reform in the Congress Party, arguing that it needs to rid itself of corrupt leaders.

## BRIEFLY

## Israelis Holding 5 As Terrorist Ring

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Army announced Thursday that it had dismantled a major armed network of the radical Palestinian movement Hamas, arresting five men, including a Palestinian policeman who was charged with helping to organize multiple suicide bombings in Jerusalem last year.

The police also said that another detained Hamas activist had revealed that his group planned to storm a foreign embassy in Israel and hold its employees hostage to free jailed Palestinian militants.

The army said in a statement that it had arrested five men from the autonomous West Bank cities of Nablus and Ramallah and from East Jerusalem for allegedly helping plan the bombings in Jerusalem last July and September that killed 21 Israelis.

An army spokesman said the cell was also involved in drive-by shootings against Israelis in the West Bank. (APF)

## Bombing in Sudan

NAIROBI — A Sudanese government plane bombed a hospital at Yei in rebel-held territory on Thursday, killing 7 and wounding 46, the humanitarian agency Norwegian People's Aid said.

The plane dropped 13 bombs and 5 hit the hospital directly, destroying the operating theater and an evacuation bunker, said Dan Eiffe, the group's liaison officer.

Of the 46 wounded, 11 were in critical condition and needed to be evacuated, he said. (Reuters)

## Snooping in Mexico

MEXICO CITY — A top Mexico City official said she had discovered two tiny surveillance cameras in her office — a day after a leading opposition congressman found hidden microphones in his office.

The city's interior secretary, Rosario Robles, a member of the opposition Democratic Revolution Party, called the discovery "serious espionage" of her office.

She did not say who might have been behind the surveillance. (APF)

## U.S. Punishes Yugoslavia Over Kosovo Crackdown

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The United States has decided to withdraw concessions recently offered to the Yugoslav government to punish it for the crackdown in Kosovo, the State Department said Thursday.

"We are withdrawing those," said a spokesman, James Foley.

Robert Gelbard, President Bill Clinton's special representative for the Balkans, announced on Feb. 23 four measures that were intended to reward Belgrade for cooperating in carrying out the Dayton peace accord in Bosnia. The accord was signed in 1995.

The administration had offered U.S. landing rights for Yugoslav airlines, a lifting of the ceiling on the number of Serbian diplomats at the United Nations, the opening of a Yugoslav consulate in the United States and an invitation to join the Southern European Cooperation Initiative, a U.S.-brokered organization that promotes regional ties.

There has been no evidence that President Slobodan Milosevic has heeded repeated recent entreaties by the United States and its European allies to end the violence in Kosovo and begin a dialogue with the ethnic Albanians who are a majority there, Mr. Foley said.

"There should be no doubt about the seriousness with which we view the situation in Kosovo," the special representative added. (APF, Reuters)

## Allies' Help Sought

R. Jeffrey Smith of The Washington Post reported earlier:

The Clinton administration says it wants U.S. allies to join in imposing new economic and diplomatic penalties against the Yugoslav government to forestall more serious violence in Kosovo.

Mr. Gelbard says that over the next few days, there will be "some very serious action" to register a U.S. and allied protest over Belgrade's crackdown in Kosovo.

He did not provide details, but another official said that a possible measure would be the withdrawal of foreign diplomats from Belgrade.

Washington has long feared that tensions between the majority ethnic Albanians and the minority Serb administrators in Kosovo might lead to war in the Balkan region. In the worst case, a war would draw in military forces of nearby Greece, Turkey and Albania in addition to troops from Serbia.

U.S. fears were heightened in mid-

January, when the CIA warned senior administration officials that the Yugoslav government was planning a possible crackdown by Serbian forces on ethnic Albanians, U.S. officials said.

By mid-February, the agency had further warned that armed units in Serbia were being mobilized. Shortly afterward it reported that Interior Ministry troops had been moved to the perimeter of the province for possible use in the crackdown.

Tensions erupted after Serbian military police tried to capture ethnic Albanian extremists near the village of Likosane on Friday. Four Serbian policemen were reportedly ambushed and killed by the extremists, who were evidently members of a shadowy group known as the Kosovo Liberation Army that wants Kosovo to be independent.

Serbian paramilitary units reportedly responded brutally during the weekend by executing about two dozen people in the village — the most that have died in Kosovo from any military action since World War II, according to sources.

On Thursday, Serbian policemen continued their attacks on ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, carrying out what they called a "retaliatory action" in the Drenica region.

Mr. Gelbard said that he and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright intended to discuss their plan for imposing new sanctions against Yugoslavia at an emergency meeting in London on Monday with her counterparts from Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Germany. These countries are members of the Contact Group that coordinates peace efforts in the Balkan region.

"We simply won't brook any violence, and yes, I do put the overwhelming responsibility on the government" of Yugoslavia, Mr. Gelbard said Wednesday. Referring to the executions, he added, "This is something that will not be tolerated by the United States."

Kosovo is a landlocked, mountainous territory with a population of just 2.2 million people, but sufficient minerals and other natural riches to make it a prize in the impoverished region.



Ethnic Albanians exchanging news in the Drenica region Thursday as Serbian police deployed through the area.

## French Researchers Clone Calf As Proof of Dolly Experiment

Washington Post Service

PARIS — Dolly, the Scottish ewe who became the cloning sensation of 1997, will soon have company of the bovine sort.

So say French researchers who reported Thursday that they had cloned a calf from adult cells and were anticipating its birth in early summer. Assuming normal gestation, the research team said, the newborn would constitute confirmation of the Scottish experiment that produced Dolly, the first known mammal cloned from fully developed adult cells.

The team, from the National Institute for Agronomic Research, also announced the birth Feb. 20 of Marguerite, a 48-kilogram (105-pound) calf cloned from embryonic cells — an important scientific feat but not the first of its kind.

The biotechnological stride implied by Dolly was that perfect replicas of a mammal could be created using differentiated cells — that is, cells evolved to specific functions in a mature organism.

But the French research director, Jean-Paul Renard, noted at a news conference that in the Dolly experiment, the culture of adult cells might have contained embryonic material that cast some doubt on Dolly's genetic origins.

The French laboratory's experiment with a calf, they said, would remove much of the doubt about Dolly's origins.

## KOSOVO: Yugoslavia Opens Assault on Separatist Rebels

Continued from Page 1

struggle. The fighting has spread panic through the small, beleaguered Serbian community, and numerous families said they were preparing to flee the province.

Many ethnic Serbs said that state security forces had quietly been distributing automatic assault rifles to Serbian men in Kosovo, including to some of the 25,000 Serbian refugees who were resettled here by Belgrade after being expelled during the wars in Croatia, Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Serbs account for less than 10 percent of Kosovo's 2 million inhabitants. They live in small ghettos and towns where they have little contact with ethnic Albanians.

Since 1989, when Belgrade revoked Kosovo's status as an autonomous province, most ethnic Albanians have shown their animosity to Serbian rule by boycotting state institutions and organizing their own schools and community services.

In a dank, stuffy gymnasium that is serving as a haven for about 400 Serbian refugees, Zdravko Olovic sat peeling four potatoes for his dinner.

The battles, raging just a few kilometers away, brought back troubling memories of his life as a Serb in Croatia in 1991, at the start of the war for independence from Yugoslavia.

"Perhaps," he said, "given what has happened in the rest of the former Yugoslavia, it was just a question of time before this occurred in Kosovo."

At night in the last few weeks, Kosovo Liberation Army rebels have opened fire on apartment blocks

housing the families of policemen, and at some scattered centers for the Serbian refugees. Most of them had been resettled after the last Balkan war.

"The fear among the Serbs is escalating," said Bosko Drobnjak, chief of information for the Serbs of Kosovo. "These terrorists used to target state bodies and their representatives, first of all the police."

"They then started to murder prominent Serbs and ethnic Albanians who remained loyal to the state. Now they are killing ordinary Serb civilians. The state must protect its citizens. It must provide security."

Serbs planning to leave the province, especially many of the refugees, said they believed the violence would increase.

"No one wants to go to Serbia," said Tanja Strbac, 24, who works in the Pristina electric company and who was expelled from Croatia with her family. "We are not given Serbian citizenship as refugees. We are denied employment in state companies. Only in Kosovo can Serb refugees find work and equal treatment. The pressure, however, has become too much. It is unbearable. I live in an old hotel with 450 refugees and every few days another room is empty."

The void between Serbian and ethnic Albanian communities is so wide it is difficult to see how it could be bridged.

"We have seen enough of violence and terror," said Vera Raden, 36, who was resettled against her will in Kosovo by the Yugoslav government after she fled Croatia two years ago. "I know the warning signs. I saw them before. It is time to leave."

## Taiwan Seeks to Clear Air With China

By Steven Mufson  
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — Taiwan said Thursday that it would send envoys to China to restart technical-level talks on easing tensions between the two rivals and establishing closer links in shipping, communications and air travel.

Lee Ching-ping, deputy secretary general of Taiwan's semiofficial Straits Exchange Foundation, said his group would send a delegation to the mainland "in the near future." Mr. Lee said the delegation would try to prepare the way for a visit by his organization's chairman, Koo Chen-fu, and a return visit by his Chinese counterpart.

Talks between the two sides were severed in mid-1995 after President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan angered China by

making a trip to the United States that Beijing viewed as an attempt to promote independence for the island, which China considers to be a renegade province. The two sides have been at odds since 1949, when Chinese Nationalist armed forces fled after losing the civil war to the Communists.

Tensions between Taiwan and China threaten Asian relations and are believed by U.S. policymakers and analysts to be potentially the most explosive issue in U.S.-China relations because Beijing sees Washington as Taiwan's protector.

As a result, a steady stream of American — including former Defense Secretary William Perry and a former Pentagon official, Joseph Nye — have traveled to Taiwan to urge the autonomous island to restart discussions with China. This week Anthony Lake, the

former U.S. national security adviser, has been visiting Taiwan.

Analysts say that even if talks resume, it will be a long time before they lead to anything concrete on the issue of reunification that Beijing seeks.

A Western observer in Taipei said that Taiwan wanted to wait perhaps 20 years before making any decision, in the hope that China will be radically different by that time. It is also closely watching how China manages Hong Kong under the "one country, two systems" formula that the Chinese president, Jiang Zemin, has said should also be applied to Taiwan.

Instead of resolving the political issue, a Western observer said, talks will start off dealing with issues such as how to stop hijackings of planes from China to Taiwan; how to fight crime jointly; and how to resolve fishing disputes.



A People's Congress delegate snoozing through the opening speeches.

## CHINA: \$1 Trillion Public Works Project

Continued from Page 1

previously approved infrastructure plans, but the bulk is being added now.

"Because of the Asian financial crisis, we need to increase the amount significantly," Mr. Huang said. "The total is \$1 trillion."

China's leadership may have been united in approving the spending plan, as Mr. Huang suggested, but a leading role was very likely played by Zhu Rongji, deputy prime minister, who has been in charge of economic affairs since 1993.

Mr. Zhu is expected to be named prime minister soon, replacing Li Peng. Known as a stern, no-nonsense manager, Mr. Zhu has aggressively seized on enterprise and banking reform as two of his top priorities, saying it would take only three years to sort out each sector.

Yet another issue on Mr. Zhu's table is the downsizing of government. The government work report delivered to the congress Thursday outlined a sharp reduction in the number of ministries, from 40 to 29. Details of the central government cutbacks are expected to be made public Friday.

Even if the current crisis leads China to swifter infrastructure construction, more efficient government or better management of the financial system here, Frightened by the power of international currency markets, China's leaders have indefinitely delayed plans to make their own currency fully convertible.

Chen Yuan, deputy governor of the People's Bank of China, said Thursday that it could take 10 years before China is in a position to expose its currency, the yuan, to a fully open market. Last year, Chinese officials often used 2000 as an unofficial target for full convertibility.

"We will gradually pave the way to full convertibility," Mr. Chen said. "It

may take 10 years. We should think in terms of decades."

Mr. Chen defended a plan by the Finance Ministry to buy \$32 billion in special bonds to recapitalize the nation's four largest banks, a move announced last weekend. Some economists have called it an accounting trick, since the banks sell bonds to the Finance Ministry, which in turn funnels the money back to the same banks as fresh capital.

"It is a movement of money from one part of a bank's balance sheet to another," Mr. Chen said. "But it is the government that is buying the bonds, so it is not just converting liability into capital."

Estimating China's nonperforming loans at about 20 percent, Mr. Chen said that until China adopted international accounting standards by the end of this year, no one would know precisely how bad the banks' financial health was.

Recent banking reforms, Mr. Chen added, are aimed at reducing politically oriented loans, eliminating loan quotas and adopting more commercially oriented criteria for lending. "Last year, we also removed 525 bank or branch managers," he said. "That improved lending quality very quickly."

As for the infrastructure spending plan, Mr. Chen said it was vital. "We are going to expand public spending," he said. "In case exports are affected, we need to expand domestic demand."

Ordinarily, such a large spending package could have a dangerously inflationary effect. Yet inflation in China has dropped so low in recent months — it is now close to zero — that economists seem to agree that it poses no threat.

Senior bankers in China have often repeated a new mantra that the yuan will not be devalued anytime in the near future. Mr. Li said so in his work report. He was echoed Thursday by Mr. Chen, who said devaluation was "not a choice."

## CLINTON: President Denounces Leak of Deposition in Jones Case; Lawyers Seek Inquiry

Continued from Page 1

The deposition has been a matter of intense curiosity. Mr. Clinton's reported denial during that session of having had a sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, a former White House intern, is at the heart of an ongoing investigation as to whether he lied and possibly asked her to lie about it as well.

A presidential spokesman categorically denied Thursday that the leaked deposition came from the White House.

"There can be no doubt that the antagonists of the president — those who want to hurt him and hurt him badly — have done this," said Robert Bennett, one of Mr. Clinton's private attorneys.

Because the Post report on the deposition broadly corroborated Mr. Clinton's public comments in the case, there was suspicion that the leak might have come from a source close to the president, possibly someone outside the White House and apart from his private legal team.

Mrs. Jones's lawyers denied having leaked the deposition. There was no immediate comment from Mr. Starr's office, which also has a copy.

According to the Post's account of the deposition, Mr. Clinton acknowledged under oath that he had talked with Mr. Jordan about his friend's efforts to find work for Ms. Lewinsky. But he said that it was his secretary, Betty Currie, who first sought to help the young woman.

Mr. Clinton, speaking after a White House meeting on Medicare, denounced the publication of details of his deposition.

"The court has made it absolutely clear it is illegal to leak and discuss it," he said. "I'm going to do my job. I'm going to follow the law. That's what I wish everyone else would do."

Earlier, Mr. Clinton's spokesman, Michael McCurry, said that he believed that there was only one copy of the transcript at the White House and that no one there had leaked it.

The president's private attorneys — Mr. Bennett, David Kendall and Mickey Kantor, the former Commerce secretary — were expected to ask the judge in the Jones case, U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright, to order an FBI investigation. If Judge Wright learned the source of the leak, she could impose fines and conceivably jail time.

David Pyke, one of Mrs. Jones's attorneys, also denied any role in the leak.

"We did not release any portion of the president's deposition and tire of these continued unfounded accusations," he told CNN.

Others, according to the Post, who attended the Jan. 17 deposition were Judge Wright, a few video camera technicians, and Bill Bristow, an attorney. He represents Danny Ferguson, a former Arkansas state trooper who in May 1991 allegedly summoned Mrs. Jones, then an Arkansas state employee, to Mr. Clinton's hotel room where she says he made crude sexual advances. He has denied any such advances.

## CIA Is Train

Dual Goal: Hunt Terror

By Tim W.

WASHINGTON

The CIA is training

to hunt for terrorists

and to prevent them

from carrying out

attacks. The agency

is also training

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INTERNATIONAL

# CIA Is Training Palestinian Forces

Dual Goal: Hunt Terrorists and Bolster Israel's View of Counterparts

By Tim Weiner  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency has been training the security forces of the Palestinian Authority in the arts of espionage, information-gathering, interrogation and other techniques of the trade, U.S. government officials say.

With Israel's knowledge, the CIA's counterterrorism and covert-operations officers have been instructing senior and mid-level Palestinian security officials in the United States since mid-1996, the officials said. FBI agents who work at the CIA's Counterterrorism Center have also helped train the Palestinians.

The program has two aims, the officials said. The first is to increase the Palestinian security forces' professionalism and improve their ability to identify and arrest suspected terrorists, a task in which the officials said the CIA has succeeded in part. The second is to increase the Israeli government's confidence in the Palestinians, a political goal that has proven more elusive.

The CIA instructs its trainees in nonviolent interrogation techniques; its lessons prohibit torture. But the Palestinian security services have "commonly tortured" detainees, killing many of the 14 people who have died in their custody in the last three years, according to a recent Human Rights Watch report.

The training takes place under a broader program of cooperation among the CIA, the Palestinian security services and the Israeli internal-security force known as Shin Bet.

The CIA station chief in Israel has been acting as a go-between and a referee under the agreement, which seeks to combat terrorism by such militant Islamic resistance groups as Hamas, and ultimately strengthen the badly frayed peace effort in the region.

The Palestinian security forces regularly arrest suspected members and sympathizers of Hamas, a group whose suicide bombers have killed scores of people in Israel to undermine efforts at coexistence between the Pal-

estinian Authority and the Jewish state.

The CIA provides training and advice to the intelligence and security services of many nations besides the Palestinian Authority.

One of the agency's aims is to teach methods of interrogating suspects without torturing them. A 1963 CIA interrogation manual, recently declassified, discussed the uses of physical torture as a last resort. Twenty years later, the agency was telling foreign intelligence services that physical torture was counterproductive, but it still instructed them in the uses of mental torture and coercion.

The agency now teaches only nonviolent methods of interrogation, which can include friendly persuasion, verbal trickery and psychological pressure, in accordance with its own codes of conduct.

Those codes were revised in 1985 to exclude "the use of force, mental torture, threats, insults or exposure to unpleasant and inhumane treatment of any kind as an aid to interrogation."

Whether these milder techniques work on suspected terrorists — or whether the Palestinian security services have learned the CIA's lessons — is questionable.

Palestinian officials acknowledged in 1996 and 1997 that some members of the Palestinian security apparatus had abused suspects under arrest. It is unclear whether any of those Palestinian security officials had been trained by the CIA. For its part, Israel has acknowledged using what it calls "moderate physical pressure" on political suspects; human-rights groups call that pressure torture.

Curt Goering, deputy executive director of Amnesty International USA, said he had seen no improvement in the performance of the Palestinian security forces regarding human rights over the last two years.

No U.S. official would comment publicly on any aspect of the program, including Palestinian security services' human rights record.

The CIA's ties to the Pal-

estinian services have a 25-year history. In 1973, Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, sent an emissary to meet secretly with Vernon Walters, then the deputy director of central intelligence, to discuss how to "prevent radical assaults on the early peace process" between Arabs and Israelis, according to the memoirs of Henry Kissinger, the former secretary of state.

That Palestinian emissary was Ali Hassan Salem, who was on the most-wanted list of Israeli intelligence service for masterminding the murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics.

From 1973 through 1978, Mr. Salem, better known as Abu Hassan, provided the United States and its allies with tips about the assassination plots of radical Palestinian organizations and other Arab terrorist groups.

In those years, the CIA set up a network of contacts within Mr. Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization and various guerrilla groups in

Lebanon. Its leading Middle East expert, Robert Ames, and its officers in Beirut, reached an understanding with the PLO through contacts with Mr. Salem, under which the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon, which housed the Beirut station, was protected from harm.

In January 1979, Mr. Salem was killed by a booby-trapped Volkswagen parked in Beirut. The Israeli foreign intelligence service, the Mossad, is thought to have set the bomb. In April 1983, Mr. Ames and at least six other CIA officers were killed when Islamic militants blew up the U.S. Embassy in Beirut.

These killings damaged the agency's deepest connections with Palestinian organizations during the 1980s. Those connections and the insights they provided were difficult to recreate, retired agency officials said. The training program with the Palestinian security services may help reestablish them, other officials said.



HOME COMING — Relatives waving to prisoners released from Syrian jails as they crossed the Syria-Lebanon border at Masnaa on Thursday. Syria released 130 Lebanese prisoners, mostly Christians, many of whom had been detained in Syrian prisons since the 1975-90 civil war in Lebanon.

## Israel Tries to Stifle U.S. Plan for Peace

Netanyahu Unhappy With Proposal

By Steven Erlanger  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has begun an intense campaign, deploying Israeli officials and lobbyists to prevent the Clinton administration from announcing a specific proposal for reviving peace talks with the Palestinians.

The Americans, in negotiations with both sides, have been refining their proposal for an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank in parallel with Palestinian moves against terrorism. But the Israelis are unhappy with the size of the withdrawal suggested and with the reluctance of the Palestinians to move against radical groups.

The Israelis especially do not want the Americans to disclose their proposal before a compromise can be reached, saying public diplomacy will put unfair pressure on Mr. Netanyahu to accede on security issues.

Israeli officials, including the government's spokesman, David Bar-Ilan, are running around Washington seeing reporters, columnists and legislators like Senators Sam Brownback of Kansas and Jesse Helms of North Carolina, both Republicans.

And Mr. Netanyahu is enlisting American Jewish leaders to help stave off a plan that senior American officials swear is neither imminent nor inevitable. White House officials told Uzi Arad, Mr. Netanyahu's national security adviser, on Wednesday that there would be "no surprises" in the peace talks.

A senior administration official said later, "Public mediation usually fails." But he said that if the stagnation continues, there is a "logical progression" that would involve "getting them to accept our reasonable proposals."

That is best accomplished with private diplomacy, the official said, although the idea of a speech by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright or by President Bill Clinton laying out the proposal has been discussed.

Israeli officials said they were concerned that Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, was trying to block progress in order to push the Americans to intervene more forcefully.

Since Mr. Netanyahu knows Washington has made no decision to announce its proposal, some American officials say he is trying to limit the size of the American role itself by focusing his big guns now on a minor issue: a public announcement.

But those guns are blazing, and the White House has heard them.

On Monday night, at a dinner in Israel for the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, Mr. Netanyahu attacked the idea of American pressure on Israel. "Only the people of Israel can determine what their security needs are," he said, "and no third parties can impose what it should have as its security needs."

Howard Kohr, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, said: "We believe that a strategy of pressure will be counterproductive for the peace process, leading the Palestinians to look to the United States rather than Israel as their negotiating partner."

Not everyone agrees. Jonathan Jacoby, executive director of Israel Policy Forum, said: "This fear is unjustified. The administration is proposing, not imposing."

The outlines of the American proposal, which have in fact been leaked to news organizations, include an Israeli withdrawal from 13.1 percent of the West Bank areas that it controls, in return for parallel Palestinian acts to fight terrorism. At the end of the withdrawal, which would be in three stages over three months, both parties would begin talks on a permanent peace agreement, and Israel would agree to halt expansion of Jewish settlements.

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## EDITORIALS/OPINION

## Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Wrong Move for NATO

NATO expansion received a strong endorsement this week from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but the most interesting thing about the Senate's handling of this issue is the ambivalence so many members express. Rarely has such an important matter seemed bedeviled for approval with so little enthusiasm or attention. That should indicate that something is amiss.

The United States ought not to take such a fateful step without a compelling justification and fervent conviction. Serious doubts about the financial cost of enlargement remain, even among expansion supporters. There is considerable concern about the long-term effect on Russia of advancing NATO eastward. Some senators understandably resent White House pressure to approve the admission of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic because President Bill Clinton has committed Washington to the plan and Senate rejection now would undermine America's international leadership.

The clearest sign of ambivalence is a proposal by a Republican, John Warner of Virginia, and the Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York to freeze expansion for three years after the first round of growth. The amendment is a well-intentioned but inadequate way of dealing with the fear that once begun, eastward expansion will be difficult to stop until it reaches the Russian border, a prospect that worries many senators.

almost as much as it does the Russians. A freeze offers the illusion that NATO expansion can be stopped after the admission of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, and that their membership alone will not produce a divisive new line across Europe. Neither assumption is true. Expansion will create a new East-West divide, and that in turn will produce great pressure for further expansion as excluded countries press to join the elite NATO club. Romania and Slovenia have all but been promised admission already.

To bring the NATO military alliance to Russia's doorstep is clearly to invite a resumption of chilled relations with Moscow and even a turn away from democracy in Russia. To stop short of the Russian border somewhere in Central Europe is to create two Europes, one democratic, prosperous and defended by American might, the other politically adrift, economically disadvantaged and militarily insecure.

It would be far better, as Mr. Moynihan proposes, to put off NATO expansion altogether and to let the European Union take the lead in unifying Europe through economic cooperation. Those senators ready to support NATO expansion should understand the political and financial price. Those who are uncertain should not vote for expansion in the expectation that it can be contained.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Starr's Chamber

In the six weeks since the Monica Lewinsky scandal broke, the president's aides have been frantically launching diversionary flares to shift the public's attention from Bill Clinton's conduct. Most of these flares have sought to illuminate the flaws — real and imagined — of the independent counsel Kenneth Starr.

As White House spokesmen have shrouded Mr. Clinton's own behavior in the most general — and least informative — denials, they have issued shrill denunciations of everything from Mr. Starr's budget, to his party affiliation, to his other legal work. It is all an effort to portray the most powerful man in the world — a man who refuses to tell his own side of the story — as a victim, and it would be merely silly were it not working so well.

Of course, the independent counsel has, in part, himself to thank for its success. When the White House stuck out its foot last week, he seemed only too eager to trip over it — hauling Sidney Blumenthal before his grand jury to answer questions about the White House's efforts to smear him and his staff. It was a move that lent credence to all the portrayals of Mr. Starr as an overzealous prosecutor with an ax to grind against the president. It was the kind of favor that only an enemy could have done for Mr. Clinton.

But after a spectacularly bad week in which he seemed to us, as to others, to have stumbled into the hands of his critics, Mr. Starr appears to be back on track. Instead of investigating who in the White House may or may not have been digging up and peddling stories meant to discredit him, his staff and their joint effort, he has returned to the basic question of whether President Clinton lied and, either directly or through aides and associates, encouraged others to lie in the Monica Lewinsky case.

In the midst of all this distraction it is worth remembering what this investigation is supposedly about and why it remains important. The investigation

is not about the president's private affairs, as his defenders constantly claim. It is, rather, about whether someone conspired to corrupt a civil suit in federal court in Arkansas.

The allegations, if true, are important not because of some prurient interest in the president's sex life but because they address a fundamental issue of fairness in the administration of justice. One can believe or not believe Paula Jones, but she is surely entitled — as are we all — to have her case heard without having it marred by allegedly perjured testimony paid for with jobs.

We continue to reserve judgment on the facts of the Lewinsky matter, but if the president did urge Ms. Lewinsky to lie under oath, this would be no insignificant matter that should be ignored because the underlying conduct is sexual in nature. It is critical, then, for Mr. Starr to stay focused on resolving the main issue authoritatively and quickly, rather than meandering off again into some examination of the White House's public relations strategy.

It is even more critical for the president to finally face the questions that he has so embarrassingly dodged since the scandal began. This course is, needless to say, a tough sell at a time when Mr. Clinton is enjoying the highest approval ratings of his presidency. The attacks on Mr. Starr are working, so there seems little reason to change anything. But Mr. Clinton owes an accounting that only he can give.

The approach the White House has adopted instead — keep mum, attack Mr. Starr, belittle the offense, shift the focus to anything you can think of but whether the president lied — is harmful, not just shifty. The faster the country can get at the truth and decide what to do about it, the better. That's what matters, not the peripheral fireworks the White House would rather become the issue instead. That's why it is good news if Mr. Starr in fact is back at work.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## A Goofy Dome

Last week Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain unveiled plans for some of the contents of the \$1.24 billion Millennium Dome, now being built on the site of an abandoned gas plant in East London.

The Dome, designed by Richard Rogers, one of the architects of the Pompidou Center in Paris, is no more inane than most architectural behemoths. But the true goofiness of this project was not apparent until last week.

The Dome will contain 13 zones, among them the Spirit Level, where visitors will experience, in the planners' words, "a moment of peace and reflect on our deepest common beliefs." There will be a zone called the Learning Curve, exhibiting classrooms of the future; a Living Island intended to resemble a British seaside resort, as well as zones, with contents still unspecified, called Transaction, Shared Ground, the

Mind, Atmosphere and Time to Talk. Confess of all will be the zone called the Body, which will inhabit an enormous, ungoverned human body.

We have seen the future and it is trivial. The plans for the Millennium Dome are at least a useful reminder of a painful truth. Humanity is never more inept than when it celebrates itself en masse, except when it tries to exhibit the future.

In a press conference last week, Mr. Blair compared critics of the Dome to those who opposed the construction of St. Paul's and the Crystal Palace. But futurists have only ever managed to portray the present. Whether by Mr. Blair's standards the Millennium Dome succeeds or fails, something unique will have been added to the London skyline — an immortal monument to 1999.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Moving to the Middle: 'Neo-Progs' Seize the Day

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

WASHINGTON — We live in a time when socialists say they're pro-business, when liberals say they're tough on crime and when faithful friends of the welfare state say they're for work and "personal responsibility."

A change is sweeping the world's democratic countries, and President Bill Clinton, for all his current troubles, can claim a big role in nurturing it. You could call it a lot of things: the movement of the left toward the center, the modernization of old ideologies, the creation of a new political position. Whatever it is, Mr. Clinton embodies it and Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain flaunts it.

The latest victory of the new dispensation was secured this week in Germany when the Social Democratic Party, the country's venerable party of the left, named Gerhard Schröder to lead it in this fall's elections.

Who is Mr. Schröder? Josef Joffe, the editorial page editor of the German daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, describes him as "the little brother of Bill Clinton and Tony Blair — only perhaps more ruthless and flexible than either."

Mr. Schröder hopes to oust Chancellor Kohl, a Christian Demo-

crat who is the West's most durable political figure. He has survived in power for 16 years, four years longer than Franklin Roosevelt, a 67-year-old comeback kid.

But Mr. Schröder presents Mr. Kohl with a problem: As Mr. Joffe puts it, in a timely new report from the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Mr. Schröder is "a centrist without the impotence of the centrists currently in power."

Mr. Schröder seems safe and new at the same time. So Mr. Kohl will try to make him look unsafe by arguing that Mr. Schröder would have to govern in coalition with the left-of-center Green Party.

Mr. Clinton, Mr. Blair and Mr. Schröder revel in being on the high wire, balancing everything against everything else.

Mr. Clinton attacked the "brain-dead politics of the left and right" and says big government is dead while offering lots of small government. Mr.

Blair's signature statement: He is "tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime." Mr. Schröder says he is for "social justice" (meaning that he will save the large German welfare state) and is also for the "modernization of the economy, the society and the state" (meaning that he will change the large German welfare state).

A Virginia politician named Bill Battle coined their slogan a couple of decades ago when he ran for governor declaring: "Neither left nor right, but forward."

All three politicians come from parties with ties to ideas associated with the left. Call them neo-progressives, or neo-progs for short. How you feel about them depends on how you view their ultimate purpose.

Some see the neo-progs as adjusting the left to the triumph of capitalism. Their critics on the left thus call them sellouts who dress up market ideas in the nice clothing of social justice talk.

Others see them as trying to preserve the core commitments of the left in new times. Their critics on the right label them opportunists who dress up the welfare state in dynamic-sounding chatter about markets and competition.

But with these guys there is always a third way: Both sides are right. Like it or not, parties of the left have to adjust to global capitalism. Whatever their rhetoric, they have always governed as if they accepted free markets. But they do not accept unregulated, uncontrolled markets. They do not think that those who lose out from economic change should be left without cash, health care or a second chance.

The fuzziness of neo-prog talk owes to their "a little of this, a little of that" politics. Government is important but must be reinvented; helping the poor is good but not in the way we used to do it; markets are great but need to be mended and, sometimes, constrained.

The neo-progs are winning because, for the moment, they are closer to the public pulse than either the most enthusiastic free-market politicians or what remains of the old left. What their foes see as opportunism the voters see as common sense. That bet paid off for Mr. Clinton and Mr. Blair, and Mr. Schröder — who promises "a social consensus... anchored in the middle" — is putting all his money smack in the center of the table.

Washington Post Writers Group

## Pay Attention to Okinawans and Close the U.S. Bases

By Patrick Smith

NORFOLK, Connecticut — Out of sight, out of mind. For Okinawa, that has been the rule for 50 years, during much of which the poor, remote prefecture has reluctantly been host to most of the U.S. military forces in Japan.

Two things are different now. Okinawa's opposition to the U.S. presence has been measured at the polls — and has turned out to be nearly universal.

That leads to the second point, recently brought into sharp focus: The United States is embarrassingly dependent on Japan's weak, corrupted democracy in keeping its 42 Okinawa bases open.

These are reason enough to begin the phased removal of U.S. forces. Instead, Washington and Tokyo seem to be engaged in a dance of deception that no government claiming to enjoy the consent of its governed could justify.

Two years ago, after U.S. soldiers raped an Okinawan child, Washington and Tokyo made modest plans to move some facilities, chiefly Futenma Air

Station, and to return land to its Okinawan owners. Because the United States wanted to replace Futenma, negotiators proposed a floating belpoint near the coastal town of Nago.

The belpoint idea was a born loser. Cost estimates run to \$4 billion — this for an ecologically disastrous contraption that would probably prove unsafe during the typhoon season. Even some U.S. Marines, who would use the thing, question its practicality.

In any case, the belpoint idea has done little to assuage the anger the rape case aroused. In a prefecture-wide referendum on the U.S. bases held just over a year ago, Okinawans came out 9 to 1 against them.

That was the first of three polls that together suggest Okinawa is now a problem that will be resolved only when Washington starts folding its tents.

Last December, Nago held a referendum of its own on the belpoint to be floated off its shores. By most accounts, the official vote-buying one expects

in Japanese elections was rampant; Tokyo even threatened to withhold essential aid unless Nago accepted the belpoint. Voters rejected it nonetheless.

Nago's mayor quickly fell on his sword: He declared that Nago would accept the belpoint anyway and then resigned.

Nago recently replaced its mayor. Tokyo's candidate won — by 1,000 votes of 31,000 cast. Economic intimidation seemed to have taken its toll.

But now the election has exploded in Tokyo's face. Tateo Kishimoto, the new mayor, turns out to be a "one *tsubo* landlord," meaning he is one of 3,000 Okinawans who have bought plots the size of two tatami mats so that they can join protesting landowners.

Mr. Kishimoto quickly declined to advance the belpoint and supports Governor Masahide Ota's refusal to act against the wishes of most Okinawans. At this point, Washington, Tokyo and the Okinawans are back at square one. And it looks as if that is where defense of-

ficials on both sides of the Pacific want things to remain.

Tokyo has abruptly said it considers the belpoint dead, thus allowing Futenma Air Station to remain undisturbed. Washington has ducked out the side door, declaring that the bases issue has somehow become an internal affair of the Japanese.

Okinawans are furious all over again, knowing from experience that Futenma and other bases are accidents waiting to happen. Small wonder that the ski-lift disaster near the Marines Corps base in Aviano, Italy, was front-page news in Okinawa papers.

Okinawans are not alone in opposing U.S. bases. On strategic and logistical grounds, there is high-level opposition within the Marines, who make up most of the 30,000 soldiers stationed in Okinawa.

Polls indicate that most Japanese want to turn ties with America into something new: an alliance without troops by 2010.

More immediately, it is clear that the Marines in Okinawa no

longer have a mission. North Koreans are starving — with heavily reinforced U.S. troops at their southern border. From Beijing, Okinawa's Marines look more provocative than defensive.

The simple truth is that maintaining elements of an outdated strategy does not instill confidence among friends. Fresh thinking does.

It is difficult to see how anyone involved in the Okinawa charade, apart from its victims, can claim to practice democracy (to say nothing of playing a role as its global defender). Take it as a matter of principle or policy: Either way, the U.S. position is unwise.

Washington is gambling too much in a relationship that inevitably faces change. Drag the bases issue on long enough and the Japanese may demand more than just the removal of U.S. soldiers.

The writer won this year's Kiriya Book Prize for "Japan: A Reinterpretation." He contributed this comment to the *International Herald Tribune*.

## For Europe's Jobless, Self-Employment Might Work

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — Mubammad Yunus — the Bangladeshi professor who, 21 years ago, launched an effective worldwide movement to reduce poverty by handing out \$27 in loans — has a certain disdain for the way industrial states, especially those in Europe, are dealing with their chronic massive unemployment.

"The world has forgotten the human tradition of self-employment," he says. "When people lived in caves they went out to help themselves. There was no state to ask for help."

His Grameen Bank, now copied by 458 programs serving nearly 15 million borrowers on all continents, is deliberately aimed at helping the very poorest climb onto the economic ladder. The thesis is microcredit: very small loans to

people who have nothing to start with but who want to help themselves. They pay back at the rate of 98 percent, which any commercial banker would envy, and go on from there.

There has been little effort to adapt the idea to the very different circumstances in industrial countries, where the answer to unemployment has become benefits until jobs are created. But it is an idea well suited to changing modern economies, as well as to the fight against endemic poverty.

The notion of jobs, after all, is a direct consequence of the Industrial Revolution. People have always labored, but it was not until production began to be

organized around the machine that they needed a job, someone to assign them a place in the organization and someone to pay them for it.

The new economic revolution reopens the question. Big factories and offices are laying off workers, but the possibilities for self-employment have been little explored. The assumption is that someone must hire you.

Great pools of skill and knowledge are left untapped when people are told they must look for a job but cannot find one. Mr. Yunus is convinced that the magic breakthrough tool is credit — microcredit — at commercial rates but without the commercial requirement of collateral or existing earnings. Two more elements would be

needed to bring broad-scale results in industrial countries.

One would be the provision of advice on how to do business, set prices and so on. The U.S. Small Business Administration gives some successful examples, but a big new bureaucracy is not necessary. With earlier retirements and longer life spans, there are many people who would be glad to volunteer as a kind of commercial godparent to the would-be self-employed.

Mr. Yunus thinks the beneficiaries should pay for the advice, even a tiny amount, so that they value it.

The second requirement would be an important reform of the huge jumble of regulations, licenses, permits and so on that countries impose on new small businesses.

It is worth serious consideration. France is an example of a country where growth has resumed, with good economic indicators, but where job offers have not. Unemployment remains stuck at more than 12 percent.

The distress has brought a new kind of confrontation. The unemployed have organized to demand more benefits, in effect seeking recognition of their plight as a new kind of social status.

It is a striking contrast with the slogan of the 1848 revolution, recalled now on the 150th anniversary of the founding of

France's short-lived Second Republic. The demand at the barricades then was "the right to work instead of charity."

The government has promised to provide 150,000 new jobs for unemployed youth and proclaims that its legislation to impose a 35-hour workweek will lead to a large number of new hires. The response has been highly skeptical. Meanwhile, it is not doing anything to encourage self-employment.

Of course, there exists a category of self-employment on a large scale in many countries: the black market.

"It should be called the golden market," says Mr. Yunus. Governments do not like it because it escapes taxes and regulation. He suggests that under a certain maximum, self-employed people who do not hire others should be freed from taxes. It would cost less than paying unemployment benefits and supporting make-work.

Microcredit has proved its worth among the poorest. It should be given a chance to break the unemployment impasse in countries obliged to shift to postindustrial economic structures. The capacity to do useful work is there. That is not necessarily synonymous with having a job. The alternative is self-employment, and this form of credit is needed to make that possible for a lot more people.

Flora Lewis

## How Scandal Changed Our Lives

By Mary McGrory

WASHINGTON — We can't go on this way. It has to stop. We Americans are now in our seventh week of the squalid White House sex scandal.

Since it all began, polite conversation has gone to hell in Washington. Social life is changed beyond recognition. We talk of one subject. Respectable people go out to dinner and speak to strangers without inhibition about the president's most intimate anatomy and his alleged sexual activities.

Of course, if we give up the scandal for Lent, as I am suggesting, it means a return to yawners like expanding NATO and reinventing government.

For all our talking, nothing has moved since Jan. 21, when we first met Monica Lewinsky. Since then we have met her lawyer, her mother and numerous "friends" whom she told about her doings with "the creep," as she called our first citizen.

We have met the independent counsel Kenneth Starr, a one-time Texas Bible salesman who subpoenas anything that moves in the capital city. Bill Clinton says he is "waiting for the facts" for which he is the chief source, before he can tell us what happened.

Most memorably we have met a wholly new American

public, one that is more decisively made over than Paula Jones. His behavior is far more shocking than Bill Clinton's. It doesn't care what he did — adultery, perjury, whatever.

Those who spend time brooding over Monica Lewinsky's 37 postemployment visits to the White House should try to figure out what happened to a nation that was supposed to be drifting into the thrall of the Christian Right.

Maybe they like him because he is not a bomber. The recent crisis over Baghdad made that point for survivors of the Johnson-Nixon years who are still with us and shudder at the thought of "collateral damage," the hawks' term for civilian casualties.

Bill Clinton is not a bomber. He does not take personally non-American activities on the part of foreigners in the tradition of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon.

Mr. Johnson was a giant on civil rights but a pygmy when it came to dealing with what he called "a raggedy-ass little country."

For instance, in February 1965 the Vietnam attacked the barracks at Pleiku where Mr. Johnson's national security adviser, McGeorge Bundy, was bunking. Touchy

Mr. Johnson was so incensed that he sent 132 planes into the sky to teach the North Vietnamese a lesson.

Mr. Nixon gave us the Christmas bombing of 1972 as his legacy of presidential petulance.

Mr. Clinton, by contrast, argued against bombing Iraq as a serious solution, while threatening to do it. He also chose sending UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to see Saddam Hussein over sending out the bombers. Can anyone imagine Presidents Johnson or Nixon putting up with Saddam's sauce?

This is all guesswork. Nothing explains the high approval rating being lavished on President Clinton.

We have to throw up our hands. Nothing — gender, geography, age, income, party — helps in understanding the phenomenon of such tolerance.

Don't get me wrong. I am a recovering addict. I enjoyed it, too, couldn't wait to open the daily paper. But when Newsweek described in lurid detail where Bill Clinton had guided the hand of a lady caller as they dallied in a nook off the Oval Office, I thought my right to know had been carried too far. Whenever Bill Clinton or Ken Starr has something new to tell me, I'll be back.

The Washington Post

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

## 1898: Dividing China

SHANGHAI — The *Shanghai Mercury* states that the Viceroy of Nanking and Liang-Hu and the Governor of Hunan have entered into a compact to direct the affairs of the Yangtze Valley from Nanking, irrespective of the Emperor's orders, and to not allow the Emperor any voice in affairs governing the Central and Western provinces. It is thus proposed to leave Northern China to the present dynasty while this Council of Three makes itself responsible for the Yangtze Valley.

## 1923: Dressed and Dry

ATLANTIC CITY — American men have become better dressed as a result of Prohibition, said A. P. Weinstein of Milwaukee, president of the American Association of Wholesale Hatters. "Since the saloon has passed into oblivion," he said, "money

that was formerly spent on liquor goes into the purchase of wearing apparel. Where formerly drinking men would allow themselves to become shabby, they now keep themselves neat."

## 1948: Shaw Tirade

AYOT ST. LAWRENCE, England — George Bernard Shaw had another temper tantrum about schoolchildren's homework. It ought to be abolished, said the ninety-one-year-old sage. Someone told Mr. Shaw that children are studying as much as three hours a day after school. Children, Mr. Shaw said, "should not be set to concentrated mental work for more than a minute or two at a time. The rest of the school time should be spent in interesting occupation — in speech training, in music, dancing, acting, knitting, handling tools, watching films, skating, bicycling."

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## OPINION/LETTERS

## As Murdoch Courts China, Conservatives Keep Mum

By Frank Rich

NEW YORK — Remember the biased "mainstream media" that would stop at nothing to protect the Clinton White House? Funny how you don't hear about that anymore. If there's one certain casualty of MonicaGate so far, it's the notion that the likes of Newsweek, The Washington Post, The New York Times and the big three television networks will suppress news out of loyalty to a supposed liberal comrade.

This was always a canard. It's conservative media that more often do bidding for their ideological own. The most unabashedly partisan figure among media magnates is hardly Katharine Graham or Michael Eisner — it's that naturalized American citizen, Rupert Murdoch.

Citizen Murdoch not only uses his empire to promote his allies and punish his enemies (from Bill Clinton to Ted Turner); he goes so far as to put politicians on the payroll. That brilliant author Newt Gingrich was offered a \$4.5 million payday from Murdoch's publishing house, HarperCollins, just as telecommunications matters financially crucial to the mogul's Fox properties were in play on Capitol Hill.

Last week it was revealed by the London newspaper The Daily Telegraph that Mr. Murdoch had again misused HarperCollins, this time in a manner that even his political allies might find offensive. Yet there has been mostly silence from conservative journalists about this scandal — even in American media properties that Mr. Murdoch doesn't own.

What Mr. Murdoch did was to see to it that HarperCollins canceled its scheduled publication in Britain of a memoir by Chris Patten, the last British governor of Hong Kong. The Telegraph uncovered a smoking in-house memo that revealed why: Mr. Patten's sin had been to criticize the government of China, whose favor Mr. Murdoch needs if he is to expand his TV and movie deals in the vast market it controls.

This is at least the fourth time that Mr. Murdoch has sold out the principles of an independent press to curry favor with China. He removed BBC World News from his satellite TV broadcasts to China after the Chinese complained of its coverage of dis-

sidents; he had HarperCollins publish a propagandistic biography of Deng Xiaoping by Mr. Deng's daughter while her father was still in power; he invested millions in a joint venture with The People's Daily, China's Communist Party paper.

Mr. Murdoch's latest outrage should horrify anyone who believes in human rights, particularly American conservatives who have spoken out about religious persecution in China. They would cheer Mr. Patten's book. In pages I've seen from the manuscript-in-progress — to be published in the United States this fall by Random House's Times Books imprint — he eloquently rebukes unnamed Westerners who pursue the "crude and cynical strategy" of "tempering criticism of China's behavior at home or abroad in return for market access."

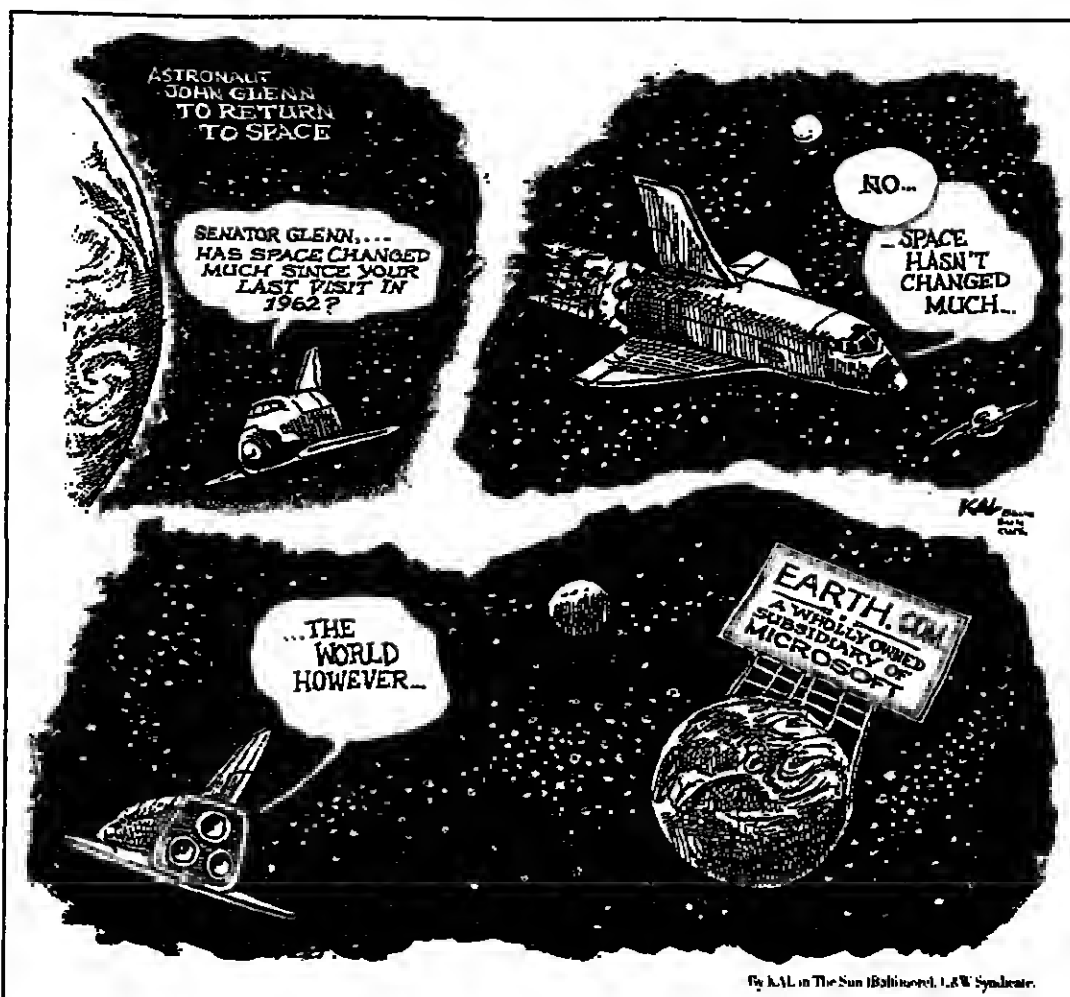
Mr. Patten further argues that the "sensible management of a developing economy" should have nothing to do with "torturing people, censoring what they can read or write, locking them up without due legal process, hunting opponents into silence or exile, dispersing crowds with bullets." What does it tell us about Rupert Murdoch's journalistic priorities that he would kill Mr. Patten's book at the same moment his Fox News Channel (slogan: "News without bias") hires the cyber-gossip Matt Drudge?

In England, the journalist and historian Timothy Garton Ash has dumped HarperCollins as his publisher; the novelist Doris Lessing, another HarperCollins author, has declared Mr. Murdoch's editorial intervention so shocking she can't find words for it.

In America, let's see how much of this scandal even makes it into Murdoch publications like the New York Post and The Weekly Standard, let alone if any prominent conservatives, whether HarperCollins authors like Robert Bork and Peggy Noonan or not, speak up in protest.

Will those who have accused the "mainstream media" of being in cahoots with a Democratic administration remain silent while their own media patron toadies to the most powerful totalitarian government in the world?

The New York Times



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Clinton and Lewinsky

Regarding "Keep Law's Long Arm Out of the Bedroom" (Opinion, Feb. 25) by Anthony Lewis:

Certainly Mr. Lewis, a distinguished legal commentator, must recognize that the accusations arising from the Clinton-Lewinsky matter are not issues of sex in the bedroom. In most jurisdictions, the law has moved away from attempting to regulate the activities of consenting adults in the privacy of the bedroom.

The law does, however, govern sexual relationships in the workplace. Paula Jones has claimed that Bill Clinton used his position to negotiate a sexual relationship with her when she was a state employee. So her lawyers have the right to question Mr. Clinton about any sexual relationships in the workplace and to receive truthful answers. Or is Mr. Lewis suggesting that all defendants in a sex harassment suit be permitted to lie in their depositions?

It is unacceptable if Mr. Clinton has lied or attempted to influence others to lie in a federal lawsuit. If he has done so, Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, is justified in looking into whether there is a pattern of lying that has impeded the Whitewater investigation.

ROBERT EDWARDS, Singapore

Three cheers for Anthony Lewis's article! When reporters have the cheek to ask President Clinton whether he has had a sexual relationship with a particular individual, he should simply say, "No comment."

Any such relationship is a matter only for Mr. Clinton and his wife.

JAMES E. WARRING, Herlberg, Switzerland

While I generally agree with Mr. Lewis's theme, I find it interesting that Americans seem to have no particular problem with the notion that the president of the

United States might have had an inappropriate relationship with a 21-year-old White House intern, but find it reprehensible that U.S. Army drill sergeants had relationships with trainees at the Aberdeen base in Maryland.

The applicable theory in the Aberdeen case was that a drill sergeant was in such a position of power that a relationship could not be deemed consensual. Is the power relationship between "the most powerful man in the world" and a young White House intern any different?

Indeed, the same public and news media that recently found General Joseph Ralston an unacceptable candidate for chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff because of an affair some 10 years earlier now appears ready to believe that the alleged misconduct by the commander in chief of those same armed forces has no bearing on his fitness for office.

T. C. JONES, Kronberg, Germany

## The Unbelievable Truth: Making It Believable

By Brett Kline

AUSCHWITZ, Poland — A girl leaned against a wall, convulsed with sobs. Two of her classmates hugged each other and cried.

A trip to Auschwitz is not like any other. The litany of horror and death began with the huge black and white photographs: the babies

you're standing in a marketplace with gasoline-soaked bodies everywhere, you feel the horror. You don't think about comparing it with other horror.

Perhaps, to believe and understand and visualize one people's horror, a person must live through his own.

Then the students walked in the Birkenau camp, on the frozen ground next to the railroad track leading to the selection ramp, under the red-brick archway in all the famous photos. No one was crying anymore. It was too cold.

One of the survivors showed the students how the prisoners had slept in the wooden barracks. He cracked jokes, explaining that a sense of humor was the only way he had of dealing with the memories. Will the students remember all this? he was asked. Even if this changes the lives of only a couple of students, this is worth it, he said.

He is right, and SOS Racism is right to bring students like these to Auschwitz. After this visit, will more of them follow the trial of Maurice Papon, the Vichy official accused of directing the deportations of more than 1,500 Jews to Auschwitz? Will the students pay more attention to the success of Mr. Le Pen?

I don't know, but education is the answer, education at any expense. Every high school student in the world should visit Auschwitz. Of course, this would cost a fortune, and would be a worthy global project for the United Nations and the World Bank. The profits would be incalculable.

SOS Racism had received requests from one of participating schools to include on this trip several youngsters from activist National Front families. Fearing violence, SOS Racism refused.

This was a mistake. Two or three National Front youngsters should have come along, so that the next time Jean-Marie Le Pen says that the gas chambers were just a minor detail in World War II, they could report back to their parents that he is wrong.

We have seen the horror, they would tell them. It would be worth the risk to tell the truth.

The writer, a journalist in Paris, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## BOOKS

## SERIAL KILLERS: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture

By Mark Seltzer. 302 pages. Paperback. \$18.99. Routledge.

## OF MEN AND MONSTERS: Construction of the Serial Killer

By Richard Tithecott. 192 pages. \$24.95. Wisconsin.

Reviewed by Chris Bull

BESIDES the president and the Pope, one of the few people whom a majority of Americans can identify consistently in surveys is Jeffrey Dahmer, whose 17 sensational murders of men and boys made him a household name. Mark Seltzer and Richard Tithecott, the authors of illuminating new books that seek to make sense of the uniquely modern phenomenon of serial killers, contend that the public's dark obsession with Dahmer and other killers actually says more about the society in which we live than about the killers themselves. Dahmer, writes Tithecott in "Of Men and Monsters," has become the "archetypal figure of impurity, the representative of a world which needs cleansing."

For Seltzer, a professor of English at Cornell, the serial killer of the popular imagination is the product of the "machine culture," the relationship between graphic violence and the "technologies of registration, recording, and reproduction," which feeds the "wound culture," a public fascinated with murder and mayhem. Drawing with equal dexterity on sources ranging from the gay pulp novelist Dennis Cooper to the French philosopher Jacques Lacan, Seltzer sees the serial killer as a sort of performance artist around which we gather in an unhealthy attempt to exorcise our own demons.

In Seltzer's "Serial Killers," modern entertainment culture creates the conditions for the serial killer, not the other way around. The popular television drama "ER," for instance, is an "end-

less series of torn and opened bodies and an endless series of emotionally torn and exposed hio-technicians." This culture elevates private suffering to public spectacle, in which "serial killing finds its place." In one particularly insightful passage, Seltzer demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between former FBI "mindhunters" John Douglas and Robert Ressler and the crime novelist Thomas Harris, the author of "The Silence of the Lambs," who, according to Douglas, got the idea for the book while attending FBI seminars. "The distinctions between fact and fiction and between bodies and information vanish," Seltzer writes.

Seltzer traces the origin of serial killing to the ghastly turn-of-the-century case of H.H. Holmes, a wealthy "businessman" who constructed a 100-room "murder castle" in Chicago that allowed him to take life at will by injecting gas or fire into the rooms. Holmes, according to Seltzer, drew his inspiration from the city's new stockyards and slaughterhouses. Holmes profited from his killing by insuring his victims — mostly women — and then collecting on the policies.

Seltzer's indictment of the serial killer culture — marred occasionally by jargonistic, deconstructionist prose — is scathing. But by focusing so heavily on the culture at the expense of the individual, he risks obscuring the killer's personal responsibility for such reprehensible acts. For his part, Tithecott, also the co-editor of "My Secret Life: An Erotic Diary of Victorian London," is adept at shifting between postmodern and other equally magnifying lenses.

Drawing on the writings of the French philosopher Michel Foucault, Tithecott argues that Americans' fascination with serial killers can serve to "explain how and why our society is put together the way it is, to illustrate its preoccupations, anxieties, and fantasies." He explains that the prominence of serial killers like Dahmer can justify the "dominance of the police mentality" and contribute to a dangerous increase in the "powers of law enforcement — specifically, the

FBI." Passionately deconstructing the homophobic motive in much of the media's description of same-sex killers, he writes: "The representation of Dahmer connects the idea of savagery with that of homosexuality as a means of defining heterosexual culture against Jeffrey Dahmer, homosexual."

Tithecott takes aim at the unsettling disparity of attention between murderer and murdered. "In portraying the serial killer in superhuman terms while objectifying his victims, we construct our own dehumanizing, pornographic fantasy," he writes. "And when we judge the victims of violence as they tell their stories on television, when we identify the 'faults' in their behavior or their lifestyles which we perceive as leading to their victimization, we are part of the process of the victimization."

By focusing so intensely — and luridly — on serial killers and their culture, however, the authors risk contributing to the very preoccupation they condemn. Transfixed by the public's obsession with infamous killers, they may have created yet another outlet for it, albeit a sophisticated one. Though it would have required research that might have taken the authors beyond the scope of their inquiries, they might have said more about the hundreds of victims — and survivors — of serial killers whom they mention briefly, if at all.

Readers never even learn the names of most victims, let alone their stories, while killers like Dahmer and Ted Bundy are analyzed to within an inch of their lives. We may gain insight into modern society through its view of serial killers, yet we cannot understand and ultimately prevent serial killers without scrutinizing their victims. Looking at how the victims lived and died curbs the romanticization of killers and leads to an empathy for the horror they inflict on victims and on the communities from which they are drawn. If forensic psychology has yielded no other foolproof insight, it is that victims' profiles tend to reflect the perpetrator.

Washington Post Service

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

THERE were opportunities for both sides on the diagrammed deal from the World Women's Team Championship last year. At both tables in a qualifying round match between Britain and one of the United States teams, three, no-trump was reached after East had made a pre-emptive opening.

After the diagrammed auction, the declarer was Nicola Smith of Britain, who has long been one of the world's best female players and has won two world titles. The

opening spade lead was ducked around to her king, and she made a good play by leading the heart jack and winning with dummy's king. She then ran the club 10, losing to the jack.

West for the United States was Irina Levina, and she made a fine play by shifting to the diamond nine, but it was too late. This ran to the jack, and the defense was poised to score four diamond tricks.

But they had no opportunity. South cashed the heart queen, revealing the bad split, and took the marked finesse of the heart nine. She cashed the last heart in dummy and

led the club nine for a winning finesse to make an overtrick. In the replay the American declarer led the ace of clubs at the second trick. If she had guessed to follow with the queen she would have succeeded, but she led a low club next. The British West, Liz McGowan, won with the jack and made the same fine play of the diamond nine, losing to the jack.

Now her partner, Heather Dhondy, was able to win the next club lead and lead the diamond queen to pin dummy's ten. The result was down two for a British gain of 11 imps.

NORTH (D)			
♠ QJ42			
♥ AK95			
♦ 105			
♣ 1092			
WEST			
♠ 10			
♥ 107642			
♦ A9852			
♣ J8			
EAST			
♠ A8765			
♥ Q			
♦ Q73			
♣ K73			
SOUTH			
♠ K3			
♥ QJ3			
♦ KJ4			
♣ AQ654			
East and West were vulnerable			
The bidding:			
North	East	South	West
Pass	2♦	2NT	Pass
3♦	Pass	3♦	Pass
3NT	Pass	Pass	Pass
West led the spade 10.			

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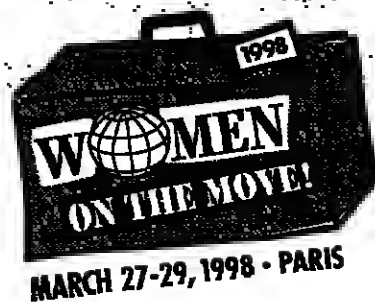
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## Iron Fists Along Uzbekistan's Silk Road

### Amid Beautiful Buildings, Memories of Ill-Tempered Tyrants

By Stephen Kinzer  
New York Times Service

**B**UKHARA, Uzbekistan—Fifteen days in Uzbekistan! It is a prospect to delight the heart of any adventurous traveler. Here is an ancient Central Asian land of teeming bazaars and spectacular architecture, comprising domains once ruled by Alexander, Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. Last October I traveled overland to nearly every part of the country, and like every traveler I found some images especially vivid.

One of them was the Bug Pit, a way station of history where a particularly gruesome episode in the vast geopolitical struggle known as the Great Game was played out.

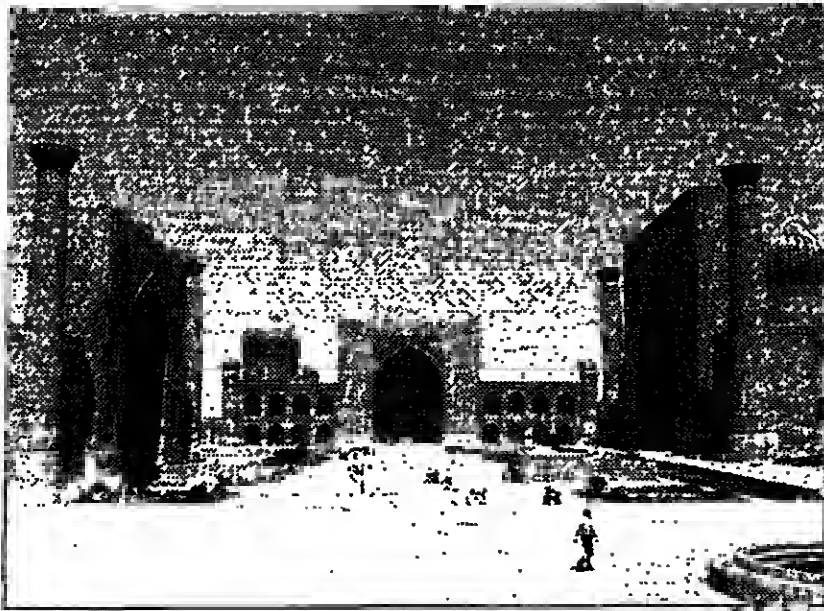
Bukhara, where the Bug Pit lies, was once the center of a powerful khanate, and visitors may still see many of the buildings where the emirs and nobles lived, ruled, worshiped and are buried. The main fortress, the Ark, was heavily damaged by fire in 1920 as Bolsheviks were wresting control of Bukhara from the last emir, and what stands today is an imposing but still ersatz version. The square in front of it, once the site of an infamous slave market, is now quiet and well kept.

In Bukhara, as in Samarkand and Khiva, the two other ancient cities of Uzbekistan, most of the great sights are within a compact area and best seen on foot. I stood in awe before the Ismael Samani mausoleum, a 1,000-year-old edifice built in an almost perfect cube measuring 35 feet on each side. Its exterior is an intricate pattern of delicate masonry that resembles the weaving on a fine basket. The dome, built to symbolize the heavens, complements the cubic form that represents the earth and also the Kaaba, the rectangular sacred stone of Mecca.

#### TILES AND CRUELTY

The majesty of this mausoleum, the colorful tiles that cover the facades of the Modar-Khan madrasah and the Abdullah Khan madrasah opposite, both religious schools that date from the 16th century, and the wooden-pillared Bolo Hauz mosque all excite a sense of astonishment. They reflect the magical beauty that has made the very name of Bukhara a symbol of mystery and romance. But the history of Bukhara is also one of great cruelties, and they, too, echo through the dusty streets.

The most visible symbol of the harsh justice that was administered in Bukhara during past epochs is the



Registan square in Samarkand is a masterpiece of symmetry.

towering Kalon minaret, built in 1127 by a khan who wished to be called to prayer from the grandest minaret in the world. So it was, standing 155 feet (47 meters) tall and measuring 30 feet in diameter. For centuries it has been a symbol of religious faith, but it also had a grisly temporal use. On market days, condemned criminals would be led up its 105 steps, displayed to the mass below while their crimes were enumerated, then sewn into sacks and hurled to their deaths.

**HARD TO FIND** The Bug Pit was not easy to find; I had to locate the ancient jail, which lies outside the Ark complex behind a block of mud houses. There, an attendant silently led me to it.

One famous player of the Great Game, which was essentially a high-stakes diplomatic confrontation between Russia and Britain for control of 19th-century Central Asia, was Colonel Charles Stoddart, an archetypal adventurer who arrived in Bukhara in 1838 hoping to win the emir's sympathy for the British cause. The emir, a deranged sadist named Nasrullah, not only rejected his overtures but cast him into a filthy pit that was crawling with rodents and insects. He remained there for much of the next two years until the appearance of a fellow officer, Captain Arthur Conolly, whose recklessness may have been partly a result of depression at being jilted by his sweetheart. Conolly planned to win his comrade's freedom, placate the emir and then unite the

khanates of Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand under British influence. Things didn't work out quite that way, however, and Conolly was also thrown into the pit.

Both men remained there until a June morning in 1842, when they were led out to the square in front of the Ark. Both were executed before a cheering crowd; their remains, according to some accounts, still lie beneath the square.

No sign in Bukhara recounts this episode, but the Bug Pit may still be viewed. It is a crude hole beneath the jail, black and chilling.

The Uzbek capital of Tashkent, where most visitors begin their trips, is a not unpleasant city, spread out over a large area and laced with broad, tree-shaded avenues. It was devastated by an earthquake in 1966, and only scattered neighborhoods remain to show the old way of life. Today it reflects the contradictions of a poor country striving to enter the modern world. Contemporary stores and hotels stand among homes whose residents must scrape by on survival wages.

Probably the best-known destination in Uzbekistan is Samarkand, the capital of Tamerlane's empire. "Let he who doubts our power look upon our architecture," Tamerlane is said to have boasted. Today it is still possible to see much of what he meant. Standing in the Registan square and gazing at the turquoise domes and inlaid facades and minarets, one senses the power and majesty that this terrifying conqueror sought to convey.

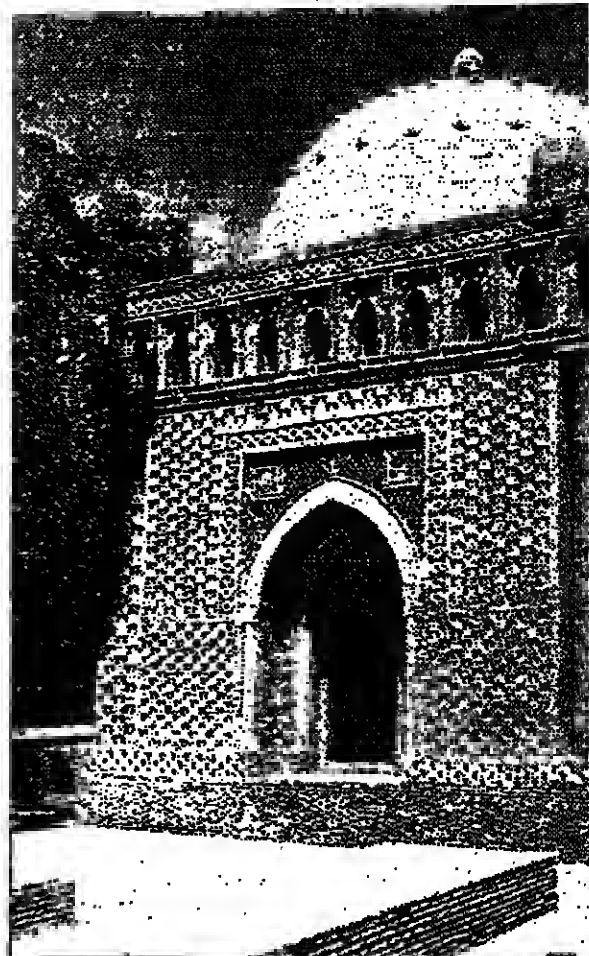
The gilded cupola over the magnificent mausoleum where Tamerlane is buried beneath one of the world's largest slabs of jade makes an ideological and political point as well as an architectural one. But on the outskirts of Samarkand I learned about another great figure from the city's past whose life reflects very different ideals. He was Ulug Beg, a 15th-century humanist who became a pioneer in mathematics, medicine and astronomy as well as a historian, poet and composer. A grandson of Tamerlane, he built one of the world's first sophisticated observatories and from it plotted more than 1,000 stars. "Religions dissipate like fog, kingdoms vanish, but the works of scientists remain for eternity," he proclaimed.

Such sentiments were not appreciated by obscurantists at the royal court, and at the age of 54, Ulug Beg was seized and beheaded. His observatory, denounced as a font of evil, was demolished. Its location was rediscovered in 1908, however, and his 36-foot-long arched sextant was unearthed. A copy of the observatory has been built around it and is open to the public. This building, like too much of Samarkand and other ancient Uzbek towns that are now tourist attractions, is essentially a fake, but it does make clear that consigning foreigners to the Bug Pit was not the only thing this land's past leaders did to amuse themselves.

**A**FTER Bukhara and Samarkand, the other great destination in Uzbekistan is Khiva. Always among the most remote of Silk Road outposts, it is a full-day car ride across the western desert from Bukhara and thus less visited. The trip is well worthwhile. Khiva is a city with just 40,000 inhabitants, and its core is an open-air museum, more intact than either Samarkand or Bukhara. It is a maze of mosques, palaces, religious schools and homes, most of them enclosed within an area less than one mile square.

I was most impressed by the Tash Hauz palace, built in the 19th century as a residence for the emir, his entourage and harem, and now a museum. The first architect assigned to build it ventured to protest that its 163 rooms and three courtyards could not be completed in the assigned three years. For his impudence he was promptly impaled; nonetheless construction took eight years, even with the labor of 1,000 slaves.

The palace displays some of the world's most impressive ensembles of ceramic tiles, together with colorfully carved wooden walls and ceilings. In one courtyard stands the platform where



The Ismael Samani mausoleum in Bukhara, an arc,

the emir received petitioners, facing a large circular stone on which his tent was erected during winter months.

Several hours by car from Khiva, but also reachable by plane from Tashkent, is the remote town of Nukus, capital of an autonomous region called Karakalpakstan.

Nukus, a city of 180,000, is distinguished chiefly by two impressive institutions, both run by determined women who have devoted their lives to fighting all manner of obstacles in order to raise the region's cultural level. One is an art museum with an astonishingly rich collection of Karakalpak crafts and also Russian art, most of the latter from the avant-garde of the early 20th century. The paintings include evocative oils by Robert Rafailovich Falk, geometric figure studies by Liubov Popova and colorful gouache and aquarelle impressions of local life by Viktor Ufimtsev.

The other, not far from the museum, is one of Central Asia's most remarkable schools, the Progress Center, where local children and adolescents are taught English and business skills in an effort to give them and Karakalpakstan a chance to join the modern world.

At the other end of Uzbekistan is the Ferghana Valley, the most densely populated region of Central Asia. It is an ideal jumping-off point for treks through the pristine mountains of adjacent

Kyrgyzstan, an own right. Glaz colored silk fab famous product. There is enou visitors a rich lo local crafts are: see them departi which I bought richly embroidered together with which I bought operative collec ment Center. W imagine suppli selves at my fee cast them into it

**AMBIVALENT** I went about four comes visitors, I restrictions and managers and whom they we quick-changing, mats in Tashken to the country's as the "minister tourism." How Valley, or anywh a room usually c striking up conv cafes or restaue good tips or even

## Life Among the Scenic Wonders, Where the Qings Beat the I

By Richard Tomlinson

**C**HENGDE, China—Spring has reached Beijing, bringing the year's first crop of foreign tourists in search of a 5,000-year-old civilization. As they trudge from one site to the next, do their spirits sag?

The Summer Palace—burned to a cinder by the British and French in 1860; the Forbidden City—ransacked by the defeated Nationalists in 1949; the Great Wall at Badaling—comprehensively rebuilt by the Communists in the late 1950s. If the tour guides were honest, they'd admit that whole chunks of Beijing's heritage are missing.

Not far from the capital, however, is a small town that has retained far more of the past than most Chinese cities. Chengde—formerly known as Jehol or Rehe—is where the Qing emperor Kangxi began to build his "Escaping the Summer Heat Mountain Villa" in 1703.

#### COOL IN THE MOUNTAINS

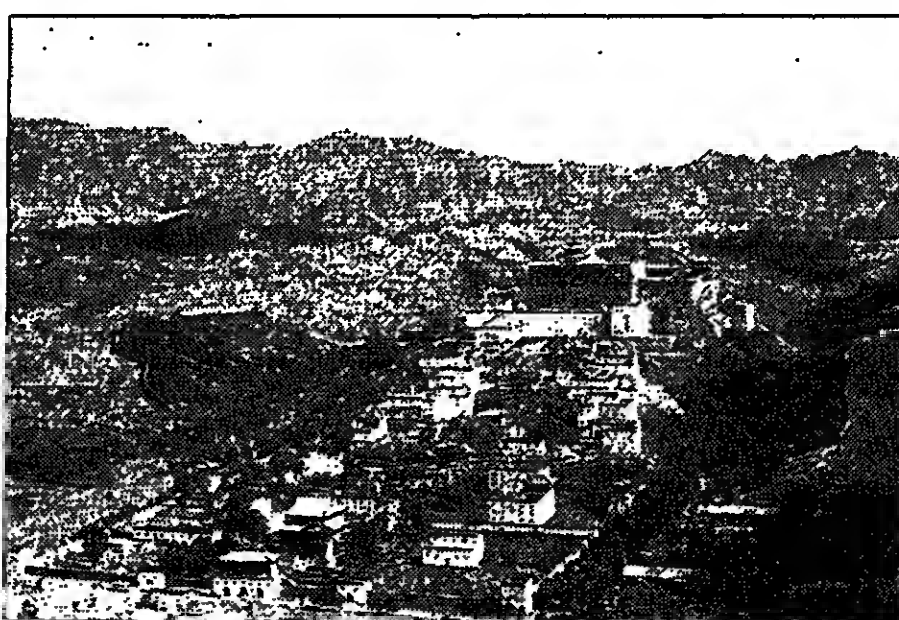
Each year the emperor and his successors returned to their cool resort, set in the hills of Hebei Province about 150 miles northeast of Beijing. To enhance the view from his villa, Kangxi decreed that the surrounding parkland should be dotted with 36 "scenic wonders"; not to be outdone, his grandson, Emperor Qianlong, decided to double the number. That makes 72 potential reasons (plus the villa) to take the fast train to Chengde, which leaves Beijing each morning at 7:30.

"Fast" is actually a misnomer. The train never gets above 35 miles (55 kilometers) per hour, which leaves plenty of time to admire the landscape. Gradually, the drab, featureless plain to the north of Beijing gives way to steep ravines and stark, arid hills—the same range from which the Manchurians descended in 1644 to seize the capital, overthrow the last Ming emperor, and found the Qing dynasty.

Passengers who book soft-seat class (about \$6 for a one-way ticket) have the bonus of a catering service that captures the transitional essence of China's "socialist market" economy. Coffee, the woman attendant firmly explains, is only available at the appointed time, from her appointed colleague. But when the coffee finally arrives, it's hot, tastes of coffee, and comes with a smile—a triple success for the Railway Ministry's central planning department.

On arrival in Chengde, the first task is to find a hotel. From spring onward, the best bet is the Yiwandou, just inside the grounds of the old royal park, with a classical Chinese rock garden at the front. Unfortunately, the hotel closes in winter because it lacks central heating. In which case, head for the Yunshan, billed rather ominously as "one of China's first three-star hotels."

The Yunshan is actually much better than its publicity suggests, with clean rooms, hot water and an in-house attraction—Ding Fulin, the resident



Chengde's most famous fake: a replica of the Potala Palace in Lhasa.

painter, who hangs out in the hotel shop.

**IN RESIDENCE** Ding is no artist in retreat. A brass plaque announces that he is a "VIP of the World," and if one lingers too long by his counter he obligingly activates his ready-to-roll promotional video. There's no need to form a critical assessment of Ding's oeuvre; he's happy to deliver his own opinion.

By now, it's early afternoon—time enough to explore the royal buildings

and surrounding park before sundown.

Having chosen the most literal name for his mountain villa, Emperor Kangxi seems to have exercised maximum poetic license with the constituent pavilions. On a crisp early spring day, for instance, the Hall of Refreshing Mists and Waves, is noticeably lacking in romantic vapor. But the ambience evidently inspired Kangxi, because it was here that he ordered the first of Chengde's 72 scenic wonders.

So where are they? The travel books quibble. O.K., it's true that Chengde

suffers its own historical deficit problem. War, destruction and time have definitely reduced the scenic wonder quotient. But who can complain about a stately, 590-hectare (1,450-acre) park—the largest royal garden in China—which still offers such curiosities as the Moonlit River Hall, the Zigzag Path and the Cloudy Causeway. And if one tires of scenic wonders, there's a scattering of natural marvels in the surrounding hills, with the eye inevitably drawn to the so-called Peak Like an Inverted Washing Cloth. Sadly, the Shortest River in the World proves too short to locate.

Having worked up an appetite, one could head for Chengde's main thoroughfare to eat some street food. Or, then again, not. Chengde is famous for its wild game (think sparrow kebabs), but vendors win no prizes for their hygiene standards.

Downtown Chengde is worth a visit, though, if only to sample a pungent blast of modern Chinese street life.

Sidewalk booksellers flog everything from the speeches of Chairman Mao to lurid "real life" crime magazines. Nearby, hawkers sell rip-off "Qididas" and "Nikk" sports accessories.

And if one doesn't want to play safe and eat at the hotel, there's always the Tianwaitian (literally, Outside Heaven) restaurant. It's Chengde's best stab at an international establishment, with clocks keeping track of London, Paris and New York time, and a miniature

United Nations flag. Extras include chca and helpful waitres.

Next morning, cl Chengde's most fan of Tibetan Bud shrine, the Potala Chengde's "Potala tuzongsheng Tem sioned by Emperc posedly to demons the Qing dynasty as

Today, it's simply more bizarre arc perched in mock sp hill beyond the wall monks perform d Potala's sacred inner bored Chinese guide to keep themselves v

**I**N the men's v another surpris reindeer, which visitors as they go ah The reindeer, it sho typical of Chengde coming locals.

But after a mornin definitely time to le holds no further secr train to Beijing at 2: served two hours a later.

Yunwanlou Hotel: 223-528.

Yunshan Hotel: (0 Tianwaitian Res 203-7566.

Richard Tomlinson based journalist.



#### DINING

## Il Cortile: A Taste of Italy in the Middle of Pa

By Patricia Wells  
International Herald Tribune

**P**ARIS—Despite a universal love affair with Italian cuisine, the very gastronomic Paris remains a wasteland for authentic pastas, breads, risottos and traditional Italian grilled fare. Leave it to Alain Ducasse, Michelin's new six-star chef and lover of all things Mediterranean, to bail us out here.

As consultant to the newly anointed one-star Il Cortile (in the Hotel Castille on Rue Cambon), Ducasse has come up with a winning formula. With the French chef Nicholas Vernier at the stove, the two are mixing up some very delicious "I'll come back for more" Italian fare.

The good news is that they stay clear of those boring 10 greatest hits of Italian cuisine. Rather, the menu is based on inventive, fresh

and seasonal fare. Every few months the menu changes and showcases a seasonal ingredient—artichokes, broccoli and scallops were some of the most recent.

My only regret is that the breads are so delicious you are likely to fill up on them, leaving room for little else. Seconds after you are seated in the tastefully decorated dining room, you are showered with a selection of hot-from-the-oven delights such as an oil-brushed rosemary flat bread, crisp and crunchy; nicely risen little squares of focaccia, and firm, fresh grissini wrapped in prosciutto.

**FIRST BITES** Each menu includes an antipasto platter, at least eight little bites that might include a deeply salty *pissaladiere*; paper-thin slices of raw fennel bathed in a *ronnoio* sauce; sardines marinated with citrus and capers, or a Swiss chard *tourte*.

Pasta and rice selections might include an

unusual risotto flavored with a trio of tomato flavors—slow-roasted, pan-fried and fresh-chopped; a ravioli filled with ricotta, sage and ham, or a classic fettuccine with pistou and aged Parmigiano Reggiano.

On one visit, the main course swordfish arrived perfectly, evenly cooked and so moist, with a glossy, stock-based sauce so shiny you could almost see your reflection, a sign of true professionalism. Here, vegetables are treated with equal respect as fish and meat, and the swordfish that day was paired with artichokes, potatoes, mushrooms, apple and onion, all tasting solely of themselves.

Equally triumphant is the evenly, perfectly grilled guinea hen, roasted on a spit and accompanied by full-flavored *caillettes* of guinea hen liver and gizzard and heart, wrapped in caul fat and pan-fried. The accompanying polenta was a model of its genre, steaming, flavorful, smooth and rich.

But on one evening, artichokes and shrimp pr without character, and the was less than astonishing, a bit too tough to enjoy.

Service is impeccable creet and the wine list a jo chilled, easy-drinking Gimignano, a distinctive wine from the village non 140 francs (\$23.50) a bot

In the summertime, Il C city's loveliest outdoor g dining. But don't wait unt to give the spot a try.

**Il Cortile** (Hotel Castille Paris 1; tel: 01-44-58-45 97-64. Closed Saturday on credit cards. A la carte, 2 person, including service



THE KIDS COLUMN

# A Short Course in the Circus

By Barbara Rosen

**L**ONDON — It's hard to put into words the look of gleeful triumph on your 4-year-old's face when she balances for the first time atop a 28-inch (70-centimeter) ball, or walks the length of a tightrope.

My daughter and I went to circus school. On weekends, Albert & Friends brings everything from miniature unicycles to 12-inch stilts and a low-wire right into the main sanctuary of an imposing church in Hammersmith. The two Saturday morning drop-in sessions, open to children from 15 months to 6 years and from 7 to 18, cost £4.50 (\$7.40) and £5.50, respectively; they also offer after-school and vacation-time courses.

"We're unique in that we take them as soon as they can walk," says Albert (real name Ian Scott Owens, 51), a burly, bearded man with a ponytail and a great deal of patience. "The stuff's here to play with. That's what it's all about."

As classical music reaches the rafters, Albert and two cohorts wander among mats, stacks of hoops, sacks of Chinese flower sticks and bean bags for juggling, and assorted unicycles and stilts. Periodically they demonstrate, then offer a hand when a child (or parent) shows interest. They also make coffee and hand out cookies. At one point Albert organizes the 20 or so kids present into games with a parachute, including pulling the whole group around on the polished wood floor.

Nothing is off limits, he explains as my daughter starts to play baseball with a juggling pin, except throwing

things at other kids and ascending the steps to the altar. "If they won't enjoy then they won't do," he says. "We spend half our time teaching children how to play."

It's remarkably peaceful for a playground, not to mention a circus. A seated and sliding 8-month-old delightedly pushes around a "rolling globe" at least four times his size. A 7-year-old tries unicycling between the church seats. A 6-year-old boy gets used to the 12-inch stilts by embracing and circling a giant pillar, while an accomplished 11-year-old jumps rope on the 18-inches. Truly committed kids can join the Albert & Friends



Instant Circus, which performs around the world.

Albert & Friends is just one of a variety of groups offering children an introduction to the circus arts. In Paris's 19th arrondissement, the Ecole Nationale du Cirque has children's courses on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons for 8-year-olds and up. (Older children can attend the related, full-time Lycee Professionnel Prive Fratellini.) In Belgium, l'Ecole de Cirque de Bruxelles offers introductory courses from 3 1/2 years, and more technical circus arts from 6.

Scratch the surface and you can quickly get inundated with lists of "circus schools" almost anywhere. But it's wise to be wary when choos-

ing. "Anybody could go and buy three juggling balls... and create absolute havoc," warns Steve Ward, founder and secretary of the National Association of Youth Circus, an organization based in Leeds with a mission "to develop the circus arts for, with and by young people."

The NAYC's member groups (103 in Britain, Ireland, continental Europe, Australia and the United States) agree to abide by a code of practice that recommends, for example, having at least two spotters for stilt-walking.

"Circus is potentially dangerous," says Ward, a teacher of creative arts full-time, and clowning and juggling in his spare time, "and if [the activities] are not done in a controlled way and a careful way, they can lead to accidents."

Among the things parents should look for, says Ward, are a well-organized space, constructive and organized activities, and equipment that's kept in good shape. And even if parents aren't asked to stay, he says, "I think it's a good idea to stick around for the first one or two" sessions.

On that Saturday morning in Hammersmith, moms and dads held small hands on the low-wire, held hoops for tumbler to dive through, and held up their stilt-toddling offspring. In between, they drank coffee and tried to remember how to hula-hoop. As kid after kid, including my own, happily conquered circus arts from spinning plates on a stick to shuffling along atop the rolling globe, I kept dropping bean bags — and I was only trying to juggle with two. Rhythm, Albert told me, it's all a question of rhythm. That may be. But it certainly isn't all child's play.

Barbara Rosen is a free-lance journalist based in London.

MILAN FASHION

# Invention vs. Intellectual Angst

By Suzy Menkes  
International Herald Tribune

**M**ILAN — Powerful shows from Fendi and Jil Sander, both pushing fabric research to its outer limits brought to life a dull fashion season that had threatened to drown in intellectual angst.

The extraordinary mixes of oxidized fur and lacquered fabrics, feathery pelts and shimmering knits that Karl Lagerfeld sent out for Fendi on Thursday was a tour de force of invention and imagination.

In a different, tranquil way, Sander also forged ahead, showing a collection devoted to cushioning the body in wadded fabrics.

"At this moment I feel like covering myself — being very private," said Sander, to explain the long-line skirts and dresses, shown with flat mules, and the padded fabrics that gave a tightly belted coat an egg-timer silhouette.

Sander's approach is modern because she eradicates the lines between day and night or summer and winter, showing much of the fall line in white and ivory and focusing on fabric for special effects. They included glazed alpaca that gleamed like a rain-soaked anellope and the fluffy-as-cotton knits — things that needed to be stroked or worn to grasp the collection's inventiveness.

In this fashion predicated on interior feel and feelings, the materials had a built-in but unshowy opulence, and Sander's precisely tailored pieces — especially the short linear coats in off-white felted canvas — had a sense of purist luxury. The intriguing surfaces, a graphic grid pattern or the occasional perforation, was the only embellishment, for every fastening was hidden under a fly front or reduced to a hidden hook and eye. Only military tailoring with patch pockets seemed too aggressive for the otherwise tranquil mood.

Sander has a clear vision, a commitment to modernity, and with her concept of cocooning female fragility she reached a kind of fashion Zen. It produced some beautiful pieces. Yet these thoughts have



Jil Sander's ankle-length dress.

long since been articulated by Japanese designers — and it is frustrating that the image presented on the runway, however sincere, is far from the reality of what will appear on the store rails.

The camouflage colors — the browns, greens and mallard blues — of the Fendi collection was a neat metaphor for the skill with which Lagerfeld used fur like fabrics and blended it with cloth.

"Creme brulee," joked Lagerfeld backstage when asked to identify a chinchilla coat that looked like a burned caramel patchwork. The guessing game continued, as mohair dresses were given a metallic spray and pieces

of goat hair sprouted like feathers from leather jackets.

It could have been just a virtuoso display of technique, but Lagerfeld had developed a lean silhouette. A fur sweater over a skinny satin skirt, its hem tipped with plastic, seem like modern elegance. It was a lesson in how a great designer can apply his intelligence to create something wearable, but new.

The idea that fashion must have just an intellectual content, or be more than just a collection of nice clothes, is gaining currency at the Milan shows. Too much so. Looking at the front-row starlets, their bosoms displayed in ice-cream-scoop necklines, it was hard to imagine what they could be thinking of the long, dark, blue-stocking clothes on Krizia's runway.

Ankle-length kimono coats and wrap dresses, all-concealing knitted shrouds and leather aprons over cowhide layers all oozed an existential angst. Or wasn't it just that old Japanese black magic that made designer Mariuccia Mandelli hark back to dresses cratered with Swiss cheese holes? A few rich velvet coats and the house's signature knits suggested that some good clothes could have been extracted from the show's sober context.

The staging of a fashion show as an art happening is part of the "intellectualization" of what were once straightforward commercial presentations. As soon as you saw the cavernous derelict warehouse at John Bartlett's show, with its stained concrete pillars and guttering white candles, you could have written the screenplay. The American designer created six characters in search of a design meaning: Winter White as the manish, business-like Gray Flannel, Enter, stage left, Black Leather to provide some agro alongside Camouflage. There was nothing wrong with the collection. In fact, the textures of fluffy knitwear, the proportions of sweaters, matelot pants and Norfolk jackets, the clean cutting, and quality fabrics make for good, modern styles. It was just that, like so much in Milan, pretentious presentations in distant venues are an over-elaborate way to offer up mere clothes.

# MOVIE GUIDE

## DESPERATE MEASURES

Directed by Barbet Schroeder. U.S. Peter McCabe (Michael Keaton): evil killer. Frank Conner (Andy Garcia): San Francisco cop. Frank's son (Joseph Cross): suffering from leukemia, desperate for a transplant. The boy's bone marrow: just like McCabe's. Throw in a noble female surgeon (Marcia Gay Harden) and a lot of hospital mayhem, and you have the formula for "Desperate Measures," a thriller that is unexpectedly fond of formulaic touches. Though this is the work of Barbet Schroeder ("Reversal of Fortune," "Barfly," "Kiss of Death"), who seldom falls back on the conventional, "Desperate Measures" is by-the-numbers too much of the time. The film's big stretch, virtually a contortion, is casting Keaton in the role of a hard-boiled baddie. His performance is lean, mean and tough, but the film goes slack whenever he squares off against Garcia, whose own stoniness comes off as just plain flat. These two don't really connect. The final gimmick here is giving Conner a reason to want McCabe kept alive, because the boy can't use the bone marrow if his father's nemesis dies. Thus, Garcia is asked to say: "I'm not a cop anymore. I'm a father." That line alone should have been a tip-off to the filmmakers that "Desperate Measures" was in need of new blood. There's a sturdy performance from Brian Cox as the police captain who tries to keep the mayhem in check.

"How many people are going to have to die tonight so that that kid of yours can live?" he asks Conner. Sooner or later, the audience will start wondering the same thing. (Janet Maslin, NYT)

## BLUES BROTHERS

Directed by John Landis. U.S. Apparently, there is life after Jake and Elwood Blues. At least, the makers of "Blues Brothers 2000" would have you think so. You remember the original Blues Brothers, the cool guys from 1980 who wore suits and shades, and traded R&B licks, years before Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones even thought of chasing alien scum. Well, Elwood's back. But Jake, as we all know, couldn't possibly return. Dan Aykroyd and John Landis, who wrote both comedies, give a functional dedication to their late friend John Belushi at the beginning and make a glitzy reference to his character's death, then zip right into the story — 18 years later. On one level, it's kind of fun to see the old faces (including Aretha Franklin, Frank Oz, Steve Lawrence, James Brown and Elwood's old hand) and exult in the wonderful blues numbers that punctuate the story. But on the other hand, Aykroyd and Landis (who also directed) have written one sad excuse for a movie. (Desson Howe, WP)

## MARIE BAIE DES ANGES

Directed by Manuel Pradal. France. Across the bay from Nice, two shark-

shape rocks looming out of the waters protect the shores from foreign aggression, so the legend goes. Sharks attack the enemy, and then devour the flesh of young innocents sacrificed by the cruel city. We hear the legend of the Baie des Anges through a loudspeaker from a tourist boat, then we meet the beautiful young tourist trap, Marie (Vahina Giocante). This fable of temptation, corruption and sacrifice laden with citations from New and post-New Wave film is bound to annoy. But not just annoy: Pradal, in his first film, pours rare visual imagination into this odyssey of beach rats and local sirens. His teenage hero, Orso (Frederic Malgras), lusts after big guns and big money, breaks into lush villas, but he only makes big time with Marie, the Brigitte Bardot of a U.S. military camp, based a beach away from Nice. Things get out of hand when the temptress taunts the enemy beyond her control and the Americans turn on her. The couple of noble savages find refuge on an island that contrasts with their speedy urban scene. Up to now, we've gone along with the audacity of the pacing, the beauty of the actors, and the camera work. But on the island, something fails to happen — Orso fiddles with his gun, Marie looses her fable. Because the director is a loss for a new driving force, he seems to waver behind the helm. The magic fades and the sad, bad ending takes a long time coming. (Joan Dupont, IHT)

# ARTS GUIDE

## AUSTRIA

**VIENNA**  
Kunsthistorisches Museum, tel: (1) 5525-24-403, closed Mondays. Continuing/ To April 14: "Bruegel: Tradition and Innovation," 12 paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and 20 works on paper and 200 paintings by his two sons.

## BELGIUM

**BRUSSELS**  
Musée d'Art Ancien, tel: (2) 508-32-11, closed Mondays. To June 28: "Rene Magritte," More than 200 paintings, gouaches, drawings and objects by the Belgian Surrealist artist (1898-1967). The paintings depict a mysterious world born from the unexpected juxtaposition of ordinary elements.

## BRITAIN

**LONDON**  
Hayward Gallery, tel: (171) 928-3144, open daily. Continuing/ To April 5: "Francis Bacon: The Human Body." Brings together paintings from 1945 to the mid-1980s that focus on the human figure, Bacon's central subject. Tate Gallery, tel: (171) 887-8000, open daily. Continuing/ To May 17: "Bonnard." Nearly 100 landscapes, still lifes, interiors, the celebrated bathroom pictures and self-portraits by the French painter (1867-1947). Also, to June 21: "Turner and the Scientists: An Artist in Two Cultures." Explores the nature of Turner's relationship with scientists and architects of the early 19th century, and reveals the impact of scientific ideas on the British painter's art.

## CANADA

**TORONTO**  
Art Gallery of Ontario, tel: (416) 977-0414, closed Mondays and Tuesdays. To May 3: "The Warhol Look: Glamour Style Fashion." How style and fashion mingled with line art and film through Warhol's life and work. The selection of works also includes paintings, clothing, photographs and works by other artists and designers.

## DENMARK

**COPENHAGEN**  
Nationalmuseum, tel: 45-33-13-44-11, closed Mondays. To May 21: "Art and Magic: A Journey Among Eskimo Masterpieces." Small figures, carvings and tools decorated or showing naturalistic representations of the Arctic animal world.

## FINLAND

**HELSINKI**  
The Museum of Foreign Art, Sinebrychoff, tel: (0) 17-33-81, closed Tuesdays. To May 31: "Luxury: Gold and Jewels." Approximately 150 artifacts, pendants, rings and bracelets excavated at Pompeii, the opulent Italian port that was buried under ash and cinders after the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 A.D.

## FRANCE

**GRENOBLE**  
Musée de Grenoble, tel: 04-76-63-44-44, closed Tuesdays. To June 1: "Sentiment de la Montagne." Covering 150 years of painting up to the early 20th century, the exhibition of 200 works features mountain landscapes by Joseph Vernet, Flaminio, David, Friedrich, Magritte and Schwitters, among others.

**PARIS**  
Bibliothèque Nationale de France-Tolbiac, tel: 01-53-79-59-59, closed Mondays. Continuing/ To May 17: "L'Aventure des Ecritures." Birth and development of writing: from cuneiform to Chinese ideograms and Arab calligraphy, to modern letters. Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, tel: 01-53-67-40-00, closed Mondays. Continuing/ To May 17: "Lumière du Monde, Lumière du Ciel." A survey of 20th-century art in Scandinavia, including the works of 20 young con-



Loan from Russia: Bernini's terra-cotta, in Chicago.

temporary artists. Features 60 paintings by Edward Munch, paintings and photographs by August Strindberg, and drawings by Carl Fredrik Hill.

## ITALY

**VENICE**  
Palazzo Grassi, tel: (41) 522-1375, open daily. To June 28: "Picasso, 1917-1924: The Italian Voyage." Brings together 300 paintings, watercolors and drawings, most of them created following Picasso's 1917 trip to Rome, where he worked with Diego Rivera on decor, stage curtains and costumes for the Ballets Russes.

## JAPAN

**OSAKA**  
Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, tel: (6) 771-4874. Continuing/ To March 22: "Angkor Wat and 10 Centuries of Khmer Art." From the 6th to the 16th century, Cambodian artists created monumental gods, female dancers and legendary creatures in sandstone. The works embrace both Buddhist and Hindu traditions.

## NETHERLANDS

**ROTTERDAM**  
Kunsthal, tel: (10) 44-00-301, closed Mondays. To June 7: "Black on White: Colonialism Seen by African Artists." Colonial African figures were carved during the colonial era.

## GERMANY

**COLOGNE**  
Kölischer Kunstverein, tel: (221) 217-021, closed Mondays. Continuing/ To April 26: "Arte Povera: Arbeiten und Dokumente aus der Sammlung Goetz von 1958 bis heute." Works by Anselmo, Alighiero et Boetti, Calzolari, Luciano Fabro and Kounellis.

## STUTTGART

Staatgalerie, tel: (711) 212-4050, closed Mondays. Continuing/ To June 1: "Paul Gauguin: Tahiti." Gauguin's bright, colorful



Gauguin's 1890 portrait of his mother, in Stuttgart.

## PORTUGAL

**LISBON**  
Centro Cultural de Belem, tel: (1) 301-9806, open daily. To May 31: "A Prova de Agua." Brings together photographs by Fenton, Moholy-Nagy, Modotti, Cartier-Bresson and Mapplethorpe whose lenses captured water in all its forms.

## SPAIN

**MADRID**  
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, tel: (1) 14-67-50-62, closed Tuesdays. To April 13: "Eduardo Arroyo." A retrospective of 40 years of work by the Spanish painter (born 1937) that covers his years of exile in France and Italy until Franco's death in 1975, as well as paintings created after he returned to Spain.

## SWITZERLAND

**LAUSANNE**  
Fondation de l'Hermitage, tel: (021) 320-50-71, closed Mondays. Continuing/ To June 1: "Pointillisme: Sur les Traces de Seurat." A selection of more than 100 Pointillist paintings and drawings by more than 40 artists including Seurat, Signac, Jan Toorop and Picabia. This works were created between 1882 and 1886.

## UNITED STATES

**CHICAGO**  
Art Institute, tel: (312) 443-3800, open daily. To May 3: "Bernini: The Italian Baroque Terra-cotta from The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg." 35 small terra-cottas by Italian masters of the 17th and early 18th century. The works were bought by a wealthy Venetian prelate in the 1750s and the collection was acquired by the czar of Russia in 1800. Also, to May 10: "Bauhaus: Art and Western Eyes." Focuses on the art of the Bauhaus people of the Ivory Coast with more than 125 masks, statues, fly whisks, jewelry and objects of daily use in wood, gold and other materials.

## HOUSTON

Museum of Fine Arts, tel: (713) 639-7300, closed Mondays. To April 26: "Years Ending in Nine." Photographs made in the last year of each decade between 1899 and 1999. In 160 photographs, the exhibition covers the evolution of photography and modernism. Photographers include, among others, Weston, Kertész, Evans, Strand, Langs, Avedon, Sherman and Arbus.

## NEW YORK

Museum of Modern Art, tel: (212) 709-9400, closed Wednesdays. Continuing/ To May 12: "Famand Leger." Leger (1881-1955) chose modernity as his subject, and his ability to capture the epic quality of daily experience earned him the reputation of painter of the "heroism of modern life." Also, to May 19: "Alva Aalto: Between Humanism and Materialism." Original sketches and competition drawings and models of the architecture of the Finnish architect, town planner and designer (1898-1976). Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, tel: (212) 423-3840, closed Thursdays and Guggenheim Museum SoHo, tel: (212) 423-3840, closed Mondays and Tuesdays. To May 25: "China: 5,000 Years." Several hundred artworks ranging in date from 3000 B.C. to date.

## CLOSING SOON

March 8: "Arte Italiana: Ultimi Quarant'anni." Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Bologna. March 8: "Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections." Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington. March 8: "Azzedine Alaïa." Groninger Museum, Groningen, Netherlands. March 8: "Bruce Nauman: Image/Text." 1968-1996. Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. March 10: "Le Nu dans l'Oeuvre de Felix Vallotton." Fondation Dina Vierny, Musée Mollat, Paris.

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## INTERNATIONAL

## Critics Decry Limited French Inquiry Into Role in Rwandan Massacre

By Craig R. Whitney  
New York Times Service

PARIS—A decision to hold a limited parliamentary inquiry into how much French military aid and advice to the Hutu-dominated regime in Rwanda during the early 1990s might have contributed to the genocide of 800,000 ethnic Tutsi in 1994 has drawn sharp criticism here for not going far enough.

Legislators of the Communist and Green parties, who help form the parliamentary majority led by the Socialist prime minister, Lionel Jospin, passed resolutions Wednesday demanding a full parliamentary investigation of the French role in Rwanda, with the power to subpoena witnesses and charge

possible wrongdoers with crimes. The Defense Committee of the National Assembly, led by its chairman, former Defense Minister Paul Quilès, decided Tuesday to ask 10 of its members to look into the role French and other foreign forces played in Rwanda as part of a "parliamentary information mission" that may never publish its results.

The human rights group Doctors Without Borders called the committee's move "a diversionary maneuver," and the Communists said France's reputation would be at risk if questions about its role in the tragedy were not cleared up.

Most of the questions concern how much French military advisers who trained and supplied troops of the Hutu-dominated government of President Ju-

venal Habyarimana knew about the plans the Rwandans carried out in 1994 to massacre most of the country's Tutsi.

France sent a military aid mission to the former Belgian colony in 1990 while Mr. Habyarimana was trying to defeat Hutu rebels using Uganda and other neighboring countries as sanctuary.

Belgium had announced it was withdrawing its own forces, and according to critics of France's decision to go in, most of the French motivation was suspicion that Tutsi exiles were being supported by "Anglo-Saxons"—Americans and others—who Paris thought were inimical to French interests in Africa.

The decision was made by President François Mitterrand, a Socialist, and was supported by both Socialist and con-

servative French governments through April 1994, when the massacres began.

Any French responsibility for the tragedy would be shared across most of the political spectrum, a key reason why many legislators are reluctant to launch a full-scale investigation, according to French defense experts.

But public interest rose again this year with the publication of a series of articles in the daily *Le Figaro* by Patrick de Saint-Exupéry that made clear that French aid, advice, and military equipment sales continued even while the Rwandan army was training the militia groups that started hacking Tutsi citizens to death almost immediately after Mr. Habyarimana's plane was shot down, by whom was never clear, on April 6, 1994.

By then Belgian troops were back as the major element in a United Nations force that was supposed to oversee the implementation of a peace agreement.

The UN force had only a limited mandate to intervene, partly because of U.S. concerns about the costs of a broader one, and when the massacres started the Belgian officers commanding it were unable to get Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali or his assistant, Kofi Annan, now secretary-general himself, to authorize them to try to stop the killings.

Ten Belgian paratroopers were themselves massacred, and Belgium withdrew from the UN force. But 500 French troops returned in April with the mission of evacuating French citizens through the airport at Kigali.

"The operation was shameful," said Gerard Prunier, a French academic expert on Rwanda whose book, "The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide," was published in London two years ago and here, in French, only last year.

"A few Tutsi were able to climb onto trucks headed for the airport," he said, "but they had to get off at the first barricade and were massacred under the eyes of the French or Belgian soldiers who, in accordance with their orders, did nothing."

The evacuation was complete by late April, but it was not until the end of June that French troops returned in force, with a UN mandate to provide aid to civilians. The French were hailed by Hutu armed units as friends, Mr. Prunier wrote, and Mr. de Saint-Exupéry recalled hearing a French soldier tell him at the time, "I'm sick of being cheered by killers."

French government officials then and later still seemed preoccupied by the threat from U.S. military advisers to the Tutsi forces, according to Mr. Prunier.

Mr. de Saint-Exupéry said he had been told by a high-ranking French military officer that orders from Paris to cut off supplies to the Rwandan Army did not come through until the end of May, though the Foreign Ministry has denied reports that shipments continued that long.

Mr. Quilès, a Socialist, said France could not set up a full parliamentary inquiry because of possible conflicts with the UN war crimes tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania.

But that tribunal is not looking into the French role in Rwanda.

Also after a long delay, a Belgian parliamentary inquiry also commissioned last year at the initiative of Senator Alain Destexhe, a former head of Doctors Without Borders International.

Belgian diplomats in Rwanda had ample warning of massacre plans as early as 1992, he said, and had shared that information in 1994 with French and U.S. counterparts.

The Belgian investigating committee published a 1,000-page report last December that found that Belgium bore a double responsibility for the genocide—for not trying to stop the massacres once they began, and for trying to get the UN forces to leave with Belgian troops while the massacres were taking place.

"It's all political authorities who are responsible," Mr. Destexhe said at the time, in words that could turn out to apply to France as well, "politicians as well as the military, Parliament as well as the government, the opposition as well as the majority."

But because we all bear a part of the responsibility is no reason not to examine the respective responsibilities and draw the necessary conclusions," he said.

## SLOVAKIA: Mobsters Strangle Business

Continued from Page 1

journalists and opposition politicians.

Last month, the national police chief, Peter Nemec, conceded that his men had failed to curb the mob, which experts say is largely home-grown but probably has links to organized crime in the former Soviet states, Germany and Italy.

"Organized crime is capable of threatening this country to a considerable degree," Mr. Nemec said. He told journalists that underworld influence was reaching into government and political parties.

Slovak police officials say that extortion, protection and silent partnerships are the main rackets of the mobsters, along with a bustling sex trade as young Slovak women are hired as dancers or bar girls abroad, then find themselves forced into prostitution.

One favored device, according to the police and business owners, is the mob-controlled private security firm. These firms propose protection services that many businessmen find hard to refuse. Frequent reports in the Slovak press suggest that business operators who do refuse find their premises destroyed or their lives threatened, and according to some of these reports, businessmen have been murdered for their refusal to play by the mob's rules.

Mr. Mojzis, who continues to manage the company he turned over to the church, says he knew the risks of defying the mob but that he was not prepared to give in.

"I come from a part of Slovakia where people are very stubborn," he said.

Because he viewed the police as unable or unwilling to pursue the racketeers, Mr. Mojzis launched a media campaign to force an investigation, taking his story to newspapers and Slovakia's private television station.

The campaign took time, but it worked. Last month, the police arrested a former banker for trying to extort money from Mr. Mojzis. The man, Julius Gaspar, described himself as an economic adviser to CBS Security 3, a private security firm owned by Mikulas Cernak, whom police and local news reports identify as the head of the Banská Bystrica underworld.

Mr. Cernak, 31, is currently in jail. He was arrested along with four associates and a policeman on charges of racketeering and extortion. Police say he forced one businessman to hand him control of a concrete panel factory, and coerced another to sign over the deed to his country house.

Banská Bystrica's police chief, Jan Pales, says he would like to do more against the mob, but says his force is undermanned, under-equipped and hamstrung by laws that make it difficult to use the conventional anti-mafia tools. All too often, he complains, witnesses are intimidated by mobsters.

"We want to stop them," he said. "We have good information on these gangs, but the problem is getting evidence that will stand up in court."

But even the mobsters are not safe. For the last year, a turf war of impressive proportions has rocked Slovakia, a nation of 5.6 million people.

Shoot-outs on street corners and in luxury hotels have left at least a dozen mobsters and at least as many businessmen dead, according to press accounts here. Of Slovakia's 67 murders last year, 30 were professional hits, the police say.

According to a press account, at least three policemen were killed by local mafias last year, including one whose severed head was placed on a car hood wearing his uniform hat. A reported mob boss was wounded in a bar shooting was later machine-gunned to death in his hospital bed.

The police say that car bombs have become a favorite way of settling ac-

counts, with 11 people killed and 19 injured in 98 criminal explosions last year.

Jozef Majsky, one of Slovakia's wealthiest industrialists, blames the rise of the Slovak mob on rampant corruption, and he and other knowledgeable observers do not hesitate to include political leaders or their key supporters when discussing underworld influence.

"Bribery is one of the working methods of this regime, from the top down to the working man," Mr. Majsky said in an interview. He is not bothered by criminal gangs, he said, because he has his own private army of 470 armed guards.

A foreign diplomat in the capital, Bratislava, said: "There's a problem with the links of organized crime to the state."

The scope of the general problem of mafia coercion is hard to gauge, he said, "but the number of Slovak businessmen running around with their own small armies is growing."

Peter Toth, a reporter who has investigated and written articles about organized crime for the daily newspaper *Sme*, says he believes senior state officials are increasingly linked to the gangs.

Last fall, while investigating possible connections between the mob and government officials, Mr. Toth's car was blown up.

"In Slovakia, there is an exceptional amount of cooperation between the secret services and the underworld," Mr. Toth said in an interview.

Some diplomats agree that the Slovak Intelligence Service maintains close ties to the Slovak underworld. The European Union, without elaboration, warned last year that "the use made by the government of the police and secret services is worrying."

Ivan Miklos, a former Slovak privatization minister, says the current climate is a natural outgrowth of what he views as the corrupt manner by which Slovakia sold off state-controlled companies.

In a notable case, controlling shares in Nafta Ghely, a lucrative gas shipping and storage company, were sold for less than half the company's annual 1.075 billion koruny profit, and there has been no public accounting of who made the purchase.



Frantisek Mojzis, a Slovak businessman who refused to deal with racketeers and last month went into hiding.

"During the last two years, corruption and clientelism in Slovakia have become endemic," Mr. Miklos said.

He and other analysts say the privatization process, often carried out without public auction, has allowed allies of Mr. Meciar and contributors to his political party to consolidate their political and economic power by snatching up former state enterprises at bargain-basement prices.

For Mr. Mojzis, the businessman who

turned to the church, the threat has not lifted. He carries an automatic pistol in his belt. For months, he lived with his wife and small children behind the heavy oak doors of the Banská Bystrica bishop's palace.

Last month, he went into hiding after Slovak newspapers published reports that the Secret Service had asked Mr. Cernak, the reputed mobster, to arrange the "liquidation" of Mr. Mojzis by the end of February.

## IRAQ: American Arms Inspector Returns

Continued from Page 1

restricted access for the inspectors, who are charged with dismantling Iraq's biological, chemical and ballistic weapons.

The inspectors must certify that Iraq has eliminated all its weapons of mass destruction before UN sanctions, imposed after Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait, can be lifted.

The United States still has a powerful military force in the Gulf, and U.S. officials say that a UN resolution warning Iraq of "severe consequences" if it blocks the inspectors has given a green light for punitive military strikes.

An UNSCOM spokesman, Alan Dacey, said Mr. Ritter was coming for a "normal inspection," not to inspect the presidential sites. But he declined to give details of the composition of Mr. Ritter's team.

(Reuters/AP)

**Albright Adds Madrid to List**

The U.S. secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, will visit Madrid next week to discuss the situation in Iraq, Reuters reported Thursday from Washington, quoting the State Department spokesman, James Rubin.

Spain is the latest stop added to a six-day trip that will also take Mr. Albright to Italy, Germany, France, Britain, Ukraine and Canada. She plans to fly to Madrid after meetings in London on Monday.

**Annan Names an Iraq Envoy**

Barbara Crossette of The New York Times reported from the United Nations in New York.

Secretary-General Annan named a special political representative to Iraq on Thursday to improve lines of communication between Baghdad and the United Nations.

The envoy, Prakash Shah, is a well-known Indian diplomat who was the New Delhi representative at the United Nations from 1995 to 1997.

Mr. Annan said that there was "a conspicuous lack" of regular contact between the Iraqi government and the secretary-general's office, his spokesman, Fred Eckhard, said.

"He was frankly surprised that he didn't have a special representative there, given the political importance of Iraq to the UN these days," Mr. Eckhard said.

The move was another step in Mr. Annan's quiet campaign to keep talking with the Iraqis in the hope that a diplomatic approach may bring about more cooperation from Baghdad, where several hundred UN food-distribution monitors and weapons inspectors are now based.

UN officials said that they did not know whether Mr. Annan had discussed the appointment with President Saddam Hussein, but that he proposed it when he briefed Security Council members on his trip to Baghdad last month.

The United States, which has made every effort to keep Iraq as isolated as possible until it gives up all its weapons of mass destruction and qualifies for a lifting of sanctions, has not objected to the idea of the appointment.

But the Clinton administration had misgivings about some candidates discussed earlier for the new position because they were seen as too sympathetic to Baghdad. The administration has not indicated any objection to Mr. Shah.

Mr. Shah, 58, retired from the Indian foreign service last year after serving as a diplomat and Foreign Ministry official. He has also been a director of Indian Petrochemicals and other companies as well as director of the Ministry of Petroleum.

## Puerto Rico Wins A Cliffhanger to Determine Future

By Lizette Alvarez  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In a cliffhanger roll-call, the House has passed a bill by only one vote, 209 to 208, that would let Puerto Ricans vote on their island's destiny — statehood, independence or continued commonwealth status.

The self-determination bill opens the way for a congressionally approved referendum in Puerto Rico. If Puerto Ricans choose statehood, the legislation would compel Congress to vote on ushering in a 51st state as early as 1999, with actual admission into the union occurring no more than 10 years later.

The vote, which prompted rousing cheers from the crowd of Puerto Ricans jamming the House gallery, reflected the concerns of many members, who were lobbied vigorously by Puerto Ricans on both sides of the issue.

Some conservatives, who say they believe the measure will lead to statehood, said they worried about the costs and the language differences, and opposed the bill because they did not believe that a majority of Puerto Ricans support statehood.

Some Democrats said they believed the measure was biased, stacked against commonwealth status and toward statehood.

In the past, the idea of statehood has been intertwined with the notion that Puerto Rico would risk losing its cultural identity.

## INDONESIA: Evasions Mark 'Reforms'

Continued from Page 1

month. The Indonesian rupiah tumbled 10 percent Thursday over concerns that the IMF would withhold the next infusion of \$3 billion in aid due March 15. In a 40-minute meeting with Mr. Suharto, an envoy representing Britain and the European Union stressed the need for Indonesia to stick to IMF reforms. (Page 17)

For both the United States and the IMF, the stakes go beyond Indonesia itself. With its falling currency and huge foreign debt, Indonesia has become the epicenter of Asia's economic turmoil. If the rescue effort fails here in the world's fourth-largest nation, the damage could spread around the world. If Mr. Suharto successfully defies the IMF, both American and IMF officials worry that other countries would then feel free to ignore the fund's requirements for reform.

But Mr. Suharto, whose word has been law here for 32 years, is resisting this formula, which would cut deeply into the interests of his wealthy children, his friends and favored businessmen.

And so, when the IMF demanded in January that he cut loose the tax breaks that allowed one of his sons to make money on a "national car," the president said yes, but immediately found a loophole.

The car, called the Timor, was one of the most striking examples of Suharto family favoritism. Under the control of a son, Hutomo Mandelita Putra, it was manufactured entirely in South Korea but was exempt from payment of import and luxury taxes. This allowed the Timor to undercut the prices of its Japanese and other competitors here. But more worrisome to the IMF, it also wasted government resources on a project that benefited Mr. Suharto's family more than it contributed to the Indonesian economy.

These exemptions were removed in

the January agreement. But there seems to be some fine print. As of January, 39,000 Timor cars had been imported, of which 24,000 had been sold. Last month, the government decided that the remaining 15,000 cars could maintain their tax exemptions. In the current slow-moving market, industry analysts estimate it will take two years to sell them — by which time the original tax exemption law would have expired anyway.

The president's best friend, Mohammad (Boh) Hasan, headed a cartel that controlled Indonesia's \$4 billion plywood export industry, the largest in the world. Along with cartels in cement and cloves, a key ingredient in Indonesia's sweet cigarettes, it was abolished specifically by the January agreement as part of the IMF's program to open Indonesia's economy to free-market forces.

But apparently, like the car cartel, it was abolished only in name. Mr. Hasan's group, known as Apikindo, immediately formed what is called a statistical research board. To pay for the board, Apikindo told exporters they would have to pay \$5 for each cubic meter of plywood exports. The annual total of this de facto tax would be between \$40 million and \$50 million.

This week, on the eve of the arrival here of former Vice President Walter Mondale, who brought a message of concern from President Bill Clinton, Apikindo announced the termination of its statistical research tax.

The investments of friends and family members also seem to be a priority as Indonesia addresses the reform of its ailing banking system.

In one of the world's most unregulated financial industries, banks here were required to hold no more than about \$16 million in capital. In February, the government announced that this capitalization requirement would be raised in stages to about \$300 million by the year 2003 to make sure banks were on a sounder financial footing.

Banking officials said no more than 10 banks would be able to meet that requirement, setting the stage for a major round of mergers and consolidations.

But only two days after it was announced with great fanfare, the bulk of that requirement was officially "deferred," leaving the industry in a state of uncertainty. The uncertainty was heightened by the government's record of favoritism in its previous step to reform the banking sector last November.

At that time, also at the urging of the IMF, 16 ailing private banks were forced to close. Depositors were allowed to recover a maximum of only about \$2,000 from these banks. The government announced that it would not bail out large depositors because, as one analyst put it, "it would send all the wrong signals to the financial markets."

But many of the shareholders and large depositors of these banks were influential businessmen or members of the president's family. Last month, the government quietly announced that they, too, could recover their deposits, a move that banking analysts say will cost Indonesia about \$400 million.

## FORMULA ONE: Advertisers Look to Grand Prix Racing as Next Best Way to Reach Millions Around Globe

Continued from Page 1

201 countries, including 132 receiving live coverage. And with just 16 races spread over eight months, the sport offers a combination of both exclusivity and continuity as it works its way around the globe.

"There aren't many games you can play with this efficiency," said Laurent Lachaux, director of sponsorship at Alcatel Alsthom, the French telecommunications company. Alcatel is sponsoring the team of Alain Prost, the former drivers' champion, along with Canal Plus, the French pay TV channel, and PlayStation, the video-game arm of Sony Corp.

To be sure, Formula One faces some tricky bends in the road. The European Union's decision last fall to ban tobacco advertising by the year 2006 threatens to deprive the sport of hundreds of millions of dollars from its biggest sponsors at a time when the price of competing is skyrocketing. Costs have risen roughly threefold over the past 20 years, and top

teams like Williams, McLaren and Ferrari have budgets of more than \$60 million a year. Drivers like Mr. Schumacher and Mr. Villeneuve alone can command more than \$10 million a year.

Meanwhile, plans by the sport's marketing guru, Bernie Ecclestone, to sell stock in his Formula One Administration Ltd. have drawn the critical glance of Karel van Miert, the EU antitrust commissioner. Mr. van Miert said recently that the exclusive arrangements Mr. Ecclestone has established with the sport's governing body, the International Automobile Federation, race-track owners and broadcasters were the worst example of restraint of competition he had ever seen.

Still, the arrival of more new sponsors from a range of new industries suggests that Formula One's days are anything but numbered. Max Mosley, the federation's president, suggested in Melbourne on Thursday that the sport might even impose its own global tobacco ban in 2002 if there is "direct proof" of a link between sponsorship and smoking.

Few people connected with the sport expect that to happen, but Formula One is moving quickly to deepen its links with nicotine-free sponsors. Leading the way is Jackie Stewart, the three-time drivers' champion who is about to kick off his second season as a team owner.

Stewart Grand Prix is the only one of the 11 Formula One teams to take to the track without a tobacco sponsor. In addition to auto-oriented sponsors like Texaco Havoline, Ford Motor Co., tire-maker Bridgestone Corp. and Lear, a U.S.-based maker of car interiors, the team draws its \$50 million budget from the likes of HSBC, MCI Communications and Hewlett-Packard Co.

Rather than sponsorship, Mr. Stewart talks about networking. At races or hospitality events, MCI Chairman Bert Roberts might rub shoulders with Carlos Mazoni, the head of purchasing who spends Ford's \$300 million telecom budget, while Lewis Platt, the chairman of Hewlett-Packard, can discuss opportunities in Southeast Asia with the HSBC chief executive, John Bond.

"We've made a commitment to blue-chip companies, and we think that's the way to go," Mr. Stewart said. "If we get one deal for Hewlett-Packard, that pays for our sponsorship package in one fell swoop."

Alcatel will play host to 60 to 70 guests in Melbourne this weekend, mainly executives of customers like the Australian phone company Telstra. And in racing-mad Brazil, where Alcatel is angling for new business, the minister of communications is on the guest list when Formula One goes to Sao Paulo later this month.

"It makes the status of Alcatel a little more than just an ordinary company," Mr. Lachaux said.

Team Williams, the defuncting title holder, will sport some new logos this year alongside the Winfield cigarette brand of its longtime sponsor Rothmans. Universal Studios will showcase its latest cinema releases and the German brewer Veltins has come aboard to promote its export ambitions. Williams also is studying merchandising and licensing

possibilities on everything from teeshirts to shavers and even mobile telephones.

"There is no limit to where we would look," said Jim Wright, the team's commercial director. But diversification isn't easy. Consumer product companies can advertise in any market or medium and are not likely to match the high prices paid by the tobacco companies.

And there may be more life in tobacco yet. After years of poor results in tobacco weak sponsorship, Tyrrell is racing its last season as an independent team after agreeing to a recent sale to B.A.T. Industries PLC, the British tobacco company.

Starting next year, B.A.T. will field the team under the name British-American Racing and spend an estimated \$300 million over five years. The deal could spawn imitators because the EU ban will apply only to direct cigarette advertising.

"We plan to be there for a long time," said Tom Moser, head of sponsorship at B.A.T.

## Banks Ask for Aid

Analysts Say Bailout

To Solve Problems

By Sheryl Waddams

TOKYO — In a move to avert the financial crisis that has gripped Japan's top banks, the government applied for a \$100-billion bailout from the U.S. Treasury to help solve the problems of the Japanese banking system.

The move, which was announced late Thursday, came as the Japanese government sought to avert a financial crisis that has gripped Japan's top banks, the government applied for a \$100-billion bailout from the U.S. Treasury to help solve the problems of the Japanese banking system.

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Thinking Ahead/Com

Key, Germany,

By Regina Dale

WASHINGTON — What

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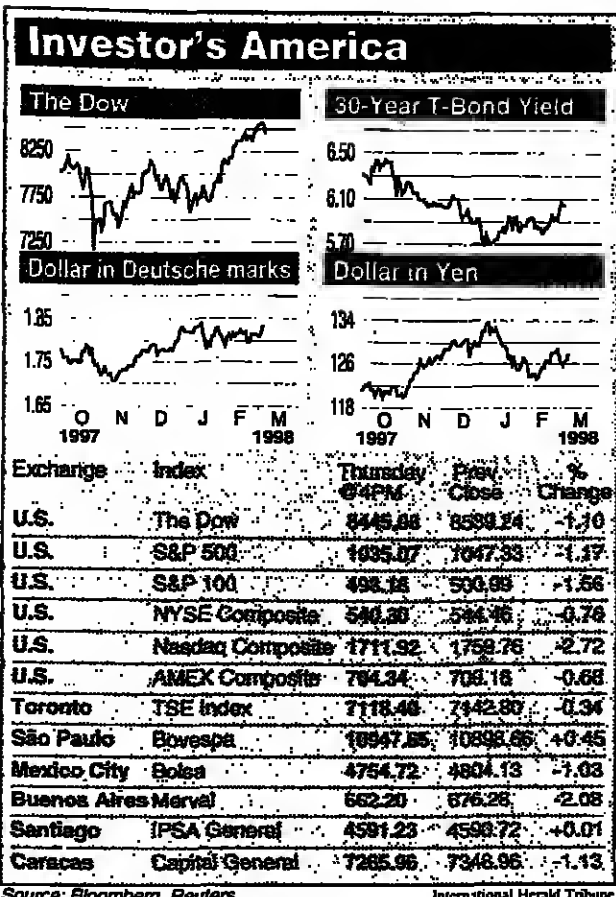
The German government







## THE AMERICAS



## Very briefly:

- Campbell Soup Co. is negotiating to sell its European confectionery and distribution business, Continental Sweets, as part of its plan to jettison nonstrategic businesses.
- American Home Products Corp.'s board approved a two-for-one stock split to make its shares more affordable.
- Gerber Childrenswear Inc. plans a public stock offering as it seeks cash to build its children's clothing brand.
- Echlin Inc. is seeking to thwart a hostile takeover bid from SPX Corp. with a bill drafted by Connecticut state legislators that would raise the percentage of shareholder consent required to call a special meeting, to 50 percent from 35 percent.
- Peru said Coastal Corp. and Hunt Oil Co. would sign a contract to explore for oil in the country's northern jungle.
- J.P. Morgan & Co. is suing three South Korean clients, SK Securities Co., Housing & Commercial Bank and Advanced Investment Ltd., to try and recover more than \$300 million they owe the bank for losses on Asian currency derivatives.
- Xerox Corp. will buy XLConnect Solutions Inc. and its parent company, Intelligent Electronics Inc., for \$415 million in cash.
- U.S. applications for unemployment benefits fell to 304,000 for the last week in February, after a jump to 320,000 claims in the previous week.

## 400 NordicTrack Jobs Eliminated

**ACTON, Mass.** — The company that owns NordicTrack is cutting 400 jobs, or 14 percent of the work force, at the fitness equipment maker as it explores the possibility of selling the division, which has not had a profit since 1995.

CML Group Inc. disclosed Wednesday that the unit's manufacturing and distribution plant in Glencoe, Minnesota, where 287 employees work, would be closed by the end of August. The company has also dismissed 116 telemarketers in Minnesota.

## Dollar Surges on Indication German Rates Might Drop

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**NEW YORK** — The dollar gained sharply Thursday against other major currencies after comments from a Bundesbank council member that raised expectations German interest rates might decline.

Klaus-Dieter Kuehnbacher said there was room for a decline in European interest rates before installation of the single currency, the euro — which is to go into effect at the start of next year.

The Bundesbank central council made no changes in key interest rates Thursday. That decision had been generally expected by economists, who say the central bank is unlikely to make changes before May, when the European Union members to take part in the first group of euro participants are to be designated.

Mr. Kuehnbacher told a newspaper that he saw no reason for the Bundesbank to raise rates this year, adding that he would vote against an increase if it was based purely on monetary convergence needs. He

further said that domestic German conditions might argue for a rate cut.

The dollar was quoted at 4 P.M. at 1.8348 Deutsche marks, up from 1.8185 DM on Thursday.

The reference to a rate cut is new," said Keith Woodfin of Foreign Exchange Analytics, "and sparked

## FOREIGN EXCHANGE

an explosion in the market, as prior Bundesbank comments had hinted, at the most, for steady policy."

Dealers said they would watch for reaction by other Bundesbank officials, particularly President Hans Tietmeyer or the chief economist, Otmir Issing, to the comments from Mr. Kuehnbacher, who is considered to be in the policy mainstream.

The dollar also rose to 127.745 yen from 126.67 yen, to 1.4930 Swiss francs from 1.4802 francs and to 6.1500 French francs from 6.1020 francs. The pound fell to \$1.6350 from \$1.6467. (Market News, AP)

## U.S. May Expand Microsoft Case

Washington Post Service

**WASHINGTON** — The Justice Department is strongly considering filing a broader antitrust case against Microsoft Corp. that would challenge Windows 98, its next-generation personal computer operating system, according to sources familiar with the case.

Justice is collecting evidence for a deeper assault on the software giant, one that likely would open one of the most contentious legal battles of the Clinton administration and could set policy toward the computer industry for years to come.

The core of the complaint, if it is filed, would be that Microsoft is using the dominant position of Windows to corner the market for Internet browser software, which is a central feature of the planned Windows 98 package.

Microsoft plans to start shipping Windows 98 in late spring. Justice officials would like to file a case before then.

## United Orders 30 Jets From Europe's Airbus

**CHICAGO** — United Airlines has ordered 30 narrow-body aircraft from Airbus Industrie, the European aircraft consortium, in a deal worth about \$1.4 billion.

United, a unit of UAL Corp., said it had ordered 20 A320s and 10 A319s. Seven A320s are to be delivered in 2000; 13 A320s and 10 A319s are to be delivered in 2001.

Airbus said the A320 costs from \$46 million to \$49 million, and the A319 costs \$41 million to \$46 million.

When the newly ordered planes have entered service, United's fleet of Airbus narrow-bodies will total 111.

"They already have those airplanes, so it's just an add-on order," said Michael Boyd, head of the Boyd Group, an aviation consulting firm based in Evergreen, Colorado.

"But what it means is that Boeing has fallen further from the fold," United's chairman and chief ex-

ecutive, Gerald Greenwald, said in the order represented the first phase of the company's strategy, "which is to grow our fleet size so that we can take advantage of profitable market opportunities."

He said that the company planned to add 68 aircraft to its passenger fleet, increasing the fleet to 639 aircraft by the end of 2001, from 571 last year.

A spokeswoman for Boeing Co. said the aircraft maker had expected the order and did not compete for it.

Industry analysts said the deal announced Wednesday suggested United intended to expand its capacity at a rate of around 3 percent a year, in line with previous expectations and the rest of the industry.

A spokeswoman for United declined to comment on the financing plan for the order.

UAL shares closed at \$83.125 down \$3, while Boeing slipped \$1.0625 to close at \$52.25.

## INTEL: Results Chill Markets

Continued from Page 13

could make some pretty good estimates," he said.

But now, Asian economies are weakening as the effects of the currency turmoil are felt. "The economic slowdown did not occur until this year, and now it is getting worse," he said. He said it was harder for stock analysts to quantify.

## U.S. STOCKS

the outcome on corporate profits, but double-digit gains in the second half of the year seem questionable.

"We could have a good year for gross domestic products, but we're talking about corporate earnings, so it's not inconsistent," he said. External factors could affect earnings even as the U.S. economy expands.

There seemed to be little consensus on Wall Street about what investors should do with Intel.

Early in the day, brokerage firms issued statements about their outlooks for the stock: Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Prudential Securities and Gruntal & Co. main-

tained "buy" recommendations; Hambrecht & Quist maintained a "hold," and Bear Stearns & Co. stayed "neutral."

BT Alex. Brown reduced its rating to "buy" from "strong buy." Nationsbank Montgomery Securities changed its recommendation to "hold" from "buy," and BancAmerica Robertson Stephens maintained its long-term "attractive" ranking.

Among other active Nasdaq technology issues, Microsoft Corp. and Oracle Corp. were lower, as were the networkers Cisco Systems Inc. and 3Com Corp.

Compag led the New York Stock Exchange active issues, with a sharp fall, but Kmart followed, rising as retailers reported good February sales.

Also active on the Big Board was Waddell & Reed, which made its debut after the mutual-fund company sold 21.7 million shares on Wednesday at \$23 each. It was trading at about \$27 on Thursday.

Bond prices fell, with the benchmark 30-year Treasury bond at 100 31/32, down 1/32. The yield was unchanged at 6.05 percent.

## Computer Associates to Drop Takeover Attempt

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**NEW YORK** — Computer Sciences Corp. shares fell about 10 percent in late trading Thursday after Computer Associates International Inc. said it would let its \$108-per-share hostile bid expire March 16, a move traders said indicated the takeover battle was near dead.

Computer Sciences, in return, said Computer Associates should immediately terminate its offer for the company "to eliminate any uncertainty as to CA's intentions."

Charles Wang, the chairman of Computer Associates, in a letter to Van Hook, the chairman of Computer Sciences, said Computer Associates would have been willing to offer up to \$114 a share but that Computer Sciences refused to negotiate. Computer Associates made the letter public.

"We had hoped by putting these two companies together we could create the next generation of world-class information technology solutions provider. It would have been a dynamic combination," Mr. Wang wrote.

On Wednesday, Computer Sciences released aggressive profit forecasts in an attempt to show Wall Street that Computer Associates' offer for the company fell "way short" of what Computer Sciences considers its real market value. Mr. Wang insisted that Computer Sciences' offer was "tremendously fair."

Computer Sciences' share price dropped \$11.75 to \$93.25. Computer Associates shares rose \$1.5625 to \$49.125. (Reuters, WP)

## AMEX

## Thursday's 4 P.M. Close

The 300 most traded stocks of the day, up to the closing on Wall Street. The Associated Press.

Stock	Sales	High	Low	Close	Change
IBM	1,234,567	120.50	119.75	120.00	+0.25
Microsoft	987,654	55.25	54.75	55.00	+0.25
Oracle	765,432	45.50	45.00	45.25	+0.25
Intel	654,321	35.75	35.25	35.50	+0.25
Compaq	543,210	25.00	24.75	25.00	+0.25
Kmart	432,109	15.50	15.25	15.50	+0.25
Waddell & Reed	321,098	23.00	22.75	23.00	+0.25
3Com	210,987	10.50	10.25	10.50	+0.25
Cisco	109,876	20.00	19.75	20.00	+0.25
Apple	98,765	40.00	39.75	40.00	+0.25

## AMEX

Stock	Sales	High	Low	Close	Change
Amazon	12,345	1.25	1.20	1.25	+0.05
NetScout	9,876	0.85	0.80	0.85	+0.05
WebTV	7,654	0.65	0.60	0.65	+0.05
Excite	5,432	0.45	0.40	0.45	+0.05
Hotmail	4,321	0.35	0.30	0.35	+0.05
MSN	3,210	0.25	0.20	0.25	+0.05
Comcast	2,109	0.15	0.10	0.15	+0.05
Time Warner	1,098	0.05	0.04	0.05	+0.01
Verizon	987	0.03	0.02	0.03	+0.01
AT&T	876	0.02	0.01	0.02	+0.01

## U.S. STOCK MARKET DIARY

Today, March 5

Most Active

NYSE

Dow Jones

Standard &amp; Poor's

NYSE

Nasdaq

AMEX

Dow Jones Bond

Trading Activity

NYSE

Nasdaq

AMEX

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Dividends

Company

Per Amt

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## ASIA/PACIFIC

# Procter & Gamble Saves Hanoi Venture

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HANOI — Procter & Gamble Co. and its Vietnamese partner reached an 11th hour deal Thursday that saved their joint venture from bankruptcy.

Alan Hed, the company's top executive in Vietnam, said the two sides had reached agreement in principle that Procter & Gamble would increase its stake in the venture to 93 percent from 70 percent.

"We are pleased both parties have found a solution that is consistent with Procter & Gamble's global strategies and will enable P&G to continue operating in Vietnam," he said.

The deal ends an acrimonious struggle between local and foreign partners that was closely watched as a barometer of Vietnam's foreign-investment climate.

Mr. Hed gave no indication of how the redrawing of shares in the venture would affect management control but said the accord had the backing of Vietnam's Ministry of Planning and Investment.

The dispute between Procter & Gamble and its local partner, Phuong Dong Co., erupted in mid-1997 and rapidly became one of Vietnam's most high-profile foreign-investor

debacles in recent years. Procter & Gamble was looking to buy out Phuong Dong completely, giving it full control of the company and eliminating cultural clashes between partners over management style and business strategy.

But that proposal was considered unacceptable to the Vietnamese because it would "be a precedent for other companies," said Nguyen Xuan Chuan, another vice minister of industry.

At the center of the discord was the question of responsibility for some \$30 million in losses.

Officials at the American embassy in Hanoi, which has been involved in efforts to resolve the dispute, applauded the agreement Thursday. "The government of Vietnam has shown great foresight and excellent judgment by endorsing the agreement," the embassy said.

Vietnamese government officials declined to comment on the development, which leaves Phuong Dong with a stake of just 7 percent.

But analysts said the news appeared to indicate that market-led pragmatism had prevailed over politics in Hanoi's arcane and occasionally volatile process of internal decision-making. (Reuters, AFP)

## Moody's Sours On Outlook for Singapore Banks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SINGAPORE — Moody's Investors Service Inc. lowered its ratings outlook on six Singapore banks Thursday to reflect the possibility of more deterioration in regional economies.

The six banks remain "among the strongest in Asia," but face "increased threats to asset quality" because of the number of countries they were exposed to, the U.S.-based credit-rating agency said.

Just a day after three of the banks reported poor results, Moody's warned Thursday of the "depth of problems in Indonesia and the increasing difficulties facing Malaysia's domestic economy."

Moody's also said the banks' asset qualities were threatened by a slowdown in Singapore.

The six banks were Development Bank of Singapore Ltd., Overseas-Chinese Banking Corp., United Overseas Bank Ltd., Overseas Union Bank Ltd., Keppel Bank of Singapore Ltd., and Tai Lee Bank Ltd.

But Moody's said that "it saw no threat to the banks' solvency." (AFP, Reuters)

## Rupiah Slumps 13% Amid Stalled Reforms

By Thomas Crampton  
International Herald Tribune

BANGKOK — The Indonesian rupiah tumbled 13 percent Thursday against the dollar as international pressure mounted on Jakarta to speed economic reforms and preserve the country's \$43 billion aid package from the International Monetary Fund.

The U.S. dollar rose to 10,300 rupiah on Thursday from 9,150 on Wednesday.

Concern over Indonesia also helped drag down the currencies of Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines, a slide that brought to an end several weeks of relative calm among Asia's troubled economies.

In a meeting with President Suharto on Thursday, an envoy representing Britain and the European Union stressed the need for Indonesia to stick to IMF reforms.

"I urged the president to follow the IMF program," said Derek Fatchett, a junior foreign office minister who is also an EU emissary. "It is important that that should happen because that is the way to restore confidence in the markets."

The warning to Indonesia came as Thailand received a new round of support from the United States and Japan after approval of more funds to be disbursed under its \$17.2 billion IMF aid package.

The widening divergence between Asian economies' responses to the currency crisis has led many analysts to divide the region into two clear categories: Indonesia and all the rest.

"Thailand and Korea are both moving ahead and adjusting to the reality of the situation," said Guoyan Ma, head of Asia-Pacific economics research at Salomon Smith Barney. "I just don't see any signs of things getting better in Indonesia."

The division between the economies will be seen by the diminished impact felt on other currencies when the rupiah falls, said Neil Saker, head of regional economic research at Soc-Gen Crosby Securities. "A fall of the rupiah now will not pull down other currencies as much as it could a few months ago."

In the period since IMF-required reforms have been implemented, financial markets have made harsh judgments of economic performance. The main stock indexes in South Korea and Thailand have risen by about 50 percent in dollar terms since the beginning of this year, while Indonesian stocks have fallen more than 30 percent in the same period.

[Underscoring the economic uncertainties, though, South Korean stocks tumbled Thursday by their largest margin so far this year as profit-taking by foreign investors spread to panic selling by local investors. The New York Times reported from Seoul, The Korea Composite Stock Index fell 6.5 percent to 535.68.]

"The G-7 is now taking a carrot-and-stick approach to the crisis, with not-so-veiled threats or rewards for good behavior," Mr. Saker said, referring to the Group of Seven nations.

As the IMF announced late Wednesday a \$270 million loan would be released to Thailand, the U.S. Treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, said that Washington would be willing to support a request for additional funding "if circumstances warrant."

On Thursday, Finance Minister Hikaru Matsunaga of Japan said Tokyo intended to provide \$600 million worth of loans to help Thai export financing. This new aid would be in addition to an ongoing IMF loan worth \$4 billion through the Ex-Im Bank.

Also on Thursday, Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia said that Taiwan was in a "very good position" to help stimulate the battered economies of Southeast Asia, Agence France-Presse reported from Kuala Lumpur.

■ **Research Minister Quits**

Bacharuddin J. Habibie, Indonesia's research and technology minister, has resigned as chief executive of the state-owned aircraft, shipbuilding and arms-making companies, the official Antara news agency reported on Thursday.

The report said Mr. Habibie, the sole vice presidential candidate in voting by Indonesia's electoral college, resigned from the three posts at a ceremony at the Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara aircraft plant in Bandung, West Java.

## Kia's Future Darkens as Chief Leaves

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL — The future of Kia Motors Corp. appeared even bleaker Thursday after the resignation of its chairman to take a top government job, analysts said.

Former Labor Minister Jin Nyeum, who was believed to have the clout to put the troubled carmaker back on its feet, was appointed Wednesday by President Kim Dae Jung to head the new budget office.

Mr. Jin served only four months as Kia's government-appointed caretaker, after creditor banks filed for court receivership for Kia Group in October. Kia's biggest creditor was Korean Development Bank, a state-owned bank. The group collapsed under 10 trillion won (\$6.39 billion) in debt, about half of which is owed by Kia Motors.

Analysts said the days of Kia Motors could be numbered without a heavy-weight figure such as Mr. Jin. "Whoever the decision-maker may be, it seems to have been con-

cluded that the survival of Kia is impossible," said Ji Sung Chul, analyst at LG Securities.

But Kia Motors said it would continue its restructuring efforts while hunting for a fresh capital injection. (Reuters, AFP)

■ **LG Electronics' Net Surges**

LG Electronics Co. posted a better-than-expected 1997 net profit of 91.6 billion won, up 41.4 percent, on a 22.7 percent increase in sales, to 9.2

trillion won. Agence France-Presse reported Thursday from Seoul.

The company, a unit of LG Group, South Korea's third-largest conglomerate, forecast 1998 sales of 11 trillion won, with exports rising to about 8.55 trillion won.

The prolonged sluggishness of the domestic economy took its toll on LG's South Korean sales last year, but exports remained brisk due to an increase in sales of air-conditioners and CD-ROMs, it said.

## BHP to Cut 300 Jobs as Moody's Warns of a Downgrade

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SYDNEY — Broken Hill Proprietary Co. said Thursday it would cut 300 jobs, the same day Moody's Investors Service Inc. warned it might downgrade its rating on some of the big Australian mining company's debt after the surprise departure of its chief executive.

John Prescott, 57, resigned Wednesday after 40 years with the company. He had been managing director since 1991. No successor has yet been named.

After the market closed, and within 24 hours of Mr. Prescott's resignation, BHP said it was offering "voluntary redundancies" at

five of Queensland state coal mines. Another 1,800 employees at three Queensland mines will be forced to take leave for 10 days in April.

Moody's highlighted "senior management turnover" as an important part of its decision to place BHP under review for a possible downgrade. (AFP, Bloomberg)

Most banks are reluctant to issue preferred shares and allow the government to take a stake because they fear the government would interfere in management of their operations.

The two Finance Ministry officials arrested Thursday were Takashi Sakakibara, a 38-year-old elite bureaucrat in the Securities Bureau, and Toshio Miyano, a 51-year-old examiner at the Securities and Exchange Surveillance Commission.

Mr. Sakakibara is accused of accepting gifts in exchange for showing favor to three companies. Mr. Miyano is accused of offering favorable treatment to Nomura Securities Co. regarding its securities issued in the United States.

## Asia Crisis for Japan's Banks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Japanese banks face a larger risk from the Asian financial crisis than other international lenders, the credit ratings agency Moody's Investors Service Inc. warned Thursday.

Japanese banks have \$182 billion in liabilities to other East Asian countries, the American agency said following a review of global exposure to Asia.

"Moody's is concerned about the risks of these exposures," it said, noting that the liabilities are more than 13 times larger than the combined annual pre-provision profit of the top 10 Japanese banks.

The agency has put under review for downgrade its ratings for Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi Ltd., the world's largest bank, and Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank Ltd. because of the size of their Asian loans.

Belgian banks are the second most exposed, in terms of profits, Moody's said, with a total of \$15 billion of non-Japan East Asian loans, or 5.3 times pre-provision profits. German banks had \$62 billion in loans to the region, or 5 times pre-provision profit, Moody's said.

Up to half of the Japanese banks' loans were given to Japanese companies doing business abroad, which were

likely to secure support from their parent companies, Moody's said.

French, British and Dutch banks are also heavily exposed in Asia, Moody's said, while Italian, Canadian and U.S. banks have relatively low exposure.

"Heavy exposure to Asian claims is negative for the credit ratings of the banks involved," it said. "However, Moody's does not expect a large wave of additional ratings reviews because most of the companies with elevated exposures have been identified."

While Belgian banks were likely to weather the crisis thanks to strong reserves, French banks may be more at risk, it said.

"French banks may find it more difficult than other banks to withstand any significant increase in credit losses stemming from the crisis," Moody's said, "because of core profitability and capital bases that remain weak compared with those of international peers."

Six top American banks have significant exposure to East Asian borrowers, it said, but added, "Most large U.S. banks will be able to weather the storm because they have strong and diversified earnings streams, substantial reserves and robust capital levels." (AFP, Reuters)

## BAILOUT: 21 Banks Apply for Aid From Government Program

Continued from Page 13

does not directly confront the problem of the banks' bad or questionable debt, estimated at more than \$600 billion. Nor does it address the underlying problem that Japan probably has too many banks, and that some institutions perhaps need to fail to guarantee profits for the rest.

In Japan, a number of the banks that were originally reluctant to take public funds were apparently encouraged to do so by the government, which feared that if weak banks were the only ones stepping forward for money, depositors might get nervous and pull their money out of those institutions.

All of the major banks applied for the same amount of funds, \$794 million. Nearly all of them chose to issue subordinated debt rather than preferred shares.

And all of them are submitting similar restructuring plans as a condition for their accepting the public money.

The exceptions were Nippon Credit Bank Ltd., which is seeking up to \$2.4 billion and will issue both preferred shares and subordinated debt, and Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan Ltd., which is asking for \$1.6 billion, a portion of which it will take in exchange for preferred shares.

Government officials defended the plan, saying the injection of capital was meant to bring stability to the financial system, regardless of whether it appeared to be a return to tradition.

"The ultimate goal for the scheme is to make the Japanese financial system more efficient and internationally competitive," said Takayoshi Hatayama, deputy head of the committee at the Deposit Insurance Corporation that is overseeing the disbursement of public funds. "There will be more stringency. We have a strong wish to remodel the Japanese financial system."

A seven-member panel, which includes the finance minister and the governor of the Bank of Japan, the central bank, decided last week on the criteria by which banks would be able to receive public money. It decided not to demand explanations from banks involved in the

bribery scandals that have come to light recently. All the applications are expected to be accepted.

After approval from the cabinet, the panel will probably decide on the terms and pricing of each bank's stock or debt issue.

Although the government has said it will use the market as a guide to set the price of the issues, the differences among the banks are likely to be minor since the point is to provide public funds cheaply so that the banks can meet international requirements for capital adequacy ratios by March 31.

With the capital injections, all the banks will easily clear the hurdles set by the Bank for International Settlements.

## JOBS: German Unemployment Report Sparks a Wave of Protests

Continued from Page 13

Equity in pay between east and west was one demand made by a separate set of labor protests this week, when walkouts by public service workers on Tuesday and Wednesday delayed millions of commuters and left garbage rotting on the streets.

Strikers had hoped to push the government into increasing pay and benefits. In eastern cities, teachers, garbage collectors and police demanded working hours and wages equal to those of their better-off western counterparts.

While the situation has slowly improved since unification, public servants in the eastern states now work 40 hours a week for salaries equivalent to 85 percent

of those in western states, where public servants work 38.5 hours a week.

On Wednesday, the public servants' union, which represents 3 million workers, rejected the government's contract offer. Workers agreed to hold off on more strikes during a period of arbitration. In Mainz, however, a few hundred garbage collectors blocked the road to their depot.

Mr. Kohl's government, under pressure to keep the budget deficit down so that Germany can qualify for Europe's common currency in 1999, has said it cannot afford the annual 19 billion DM to improve civil servants' salaries and benefits.

The protests Thursday were the second time this year in Germany that


demonstrators sought to emulate the collective social rage of recent jobless protesters in France. In February, unemployed Germans staged a similar round of protests, drawing 30,000 people.

The organizers have said they planned to rally every month on the day the government announces labor figures, until the election.

Another note of economic gloom came Thursday from the federal statistics office in Wiesbaden, which reported that 1997 had been marked by more bankruptcies than in any year since World War II. The total, 33,410 bankruptcies, had risen by 6.2 percent from the figure for 1996.

(AP, AFP, Bloomberg, Reuters)

## Investor's Asia

Hong Kong Hang Seng	Singapore Straits Times	Tokyo Nikkei 225		
				
Exchange	Index	Thursday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	10,803.68	11,350.81	-4.82
Singapore	Straits Times	1,576.68	1,571.48	-0.33
Sydney	All Ordinaries	2,652.70	2,705.49	-1.95
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	16,848.55	17,095.80	-1.45
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	696.79	705.94	-1.30
Bangkok	SET	509.23	528.24	-3.60
Seoul	Composite Index	535.68	572.76	-6.47
Taipei	Stock Market Index	8,765.32	8,977.54	-2.36
Manila	PSE	2,207.54	2,213.31	-0.53
Jakarta	Composite Index	5,164.89	5,022.81	-2.70
Wellington	NZSE-40	2,280.38	2,813.28	-1.42
Bombay	Sensitive Index	3,714.62	3,743.93	-0.78

Source: *Telekurs* International Herald Tribune

Source: Reuters

International Herald Tribune

## Very briefly:

• Malaysia's trade surplus surged 165 percent, to 2.6 billion ringgit (\$686.9 million), in January as demand for imported merchandise cooled, the Bernama news agency reported. Exports increased 35.6 percent, while imports rose 19.5 percent, swollen by 1.2 billion ringgit in aircraft and ship purchases.

• Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said that Kuala Lumpur has no plans to privatize or bail out Bank Bumiputera Bhd. and that a 750 million ringgit cash injection for the troubled bank was normal practice for a public institution.

• Philippine prices in February were 7.4 percent higher than in February 1996, a 19-month high, as the Asian currency crisis drove up food prices. The corresponding rate in January was 6.4 percent.

• Westpac Banking Corp.'s general manager predicted that the Asian turmoil would be felt for years and have profound effects on the Australian property market, including flat interest rates for at least the next two years.

• Grey Advertising Inc. said the turmoil, while reducing Asian sales growth to 8 percent this year from 20 percent a year to 1997, would not make it lessen its focus on the region.

• All Nippon Airways Co. predicted that it would post a group net loss of 7.2 billion yen (\$57.4 million) for the year through March, as the top Japanese operator of domestic flights said rough winter weather, more competition and "domestic economic gloom" had led to fewer passengers. It had predicted a net profit of 3.8 billion yen.

• Japanese vehicle imports fell 39.8 percent in February from a year earlier, to 22,133 units, the biggest such drop since 1970. Imports of U.S. vehicles fell 42.1 percent, to 4,813 units.

• Laura Ashley PLC is selling a 13 percent stake in Laura Ashley Japan to Jusco Co. for \$9.5 million (\$15.6 million), reducing the British company's ownership to 26.7 percent.

• China Eastern Airlines has signed an agreement with Boeing Co. to buy three 737-300 airliners, Liberation Daily reported.

• Chinese families will purchase 700,000 personal computers in 1998, 30 percent more than last year, the Ministry of Electronics Industry predicted. (Bloomberg, Reuters, AFP)

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## SPORTS

led by Smith,  
'6ers Defeat  
Bucks, 87-80

The Associated Press

Joe Smith had his best game since joining the 76ers and Derrick Coleman had 19 points and 10 rebounds as Philadelphia defeated the Milwaukee Bucks, 87-80.

Smith scored 15 points on 6-of-9 shooting with four rebounds in 26 minutes. Theo Ratliff added 13 points and seven rebounds for Philadelphia, which returned home Wednesday night for a four-game road trip.

Smith had not scored more than 14 points since being traded to Philadelphia two weeks ago. He had a 2-for-

## NBA ROUNDUP

shooting night against Indiana and as 1-for-12 against Denver.

Glenn Robinson had 21 points and eight rebounds, Tyroce Hill grabbed 18 rebounds, Ray Allen scored 17 points and Armon Gilliam added 14 points, including 10 in the fourth quarter, as the Bucks lost their third in a row.

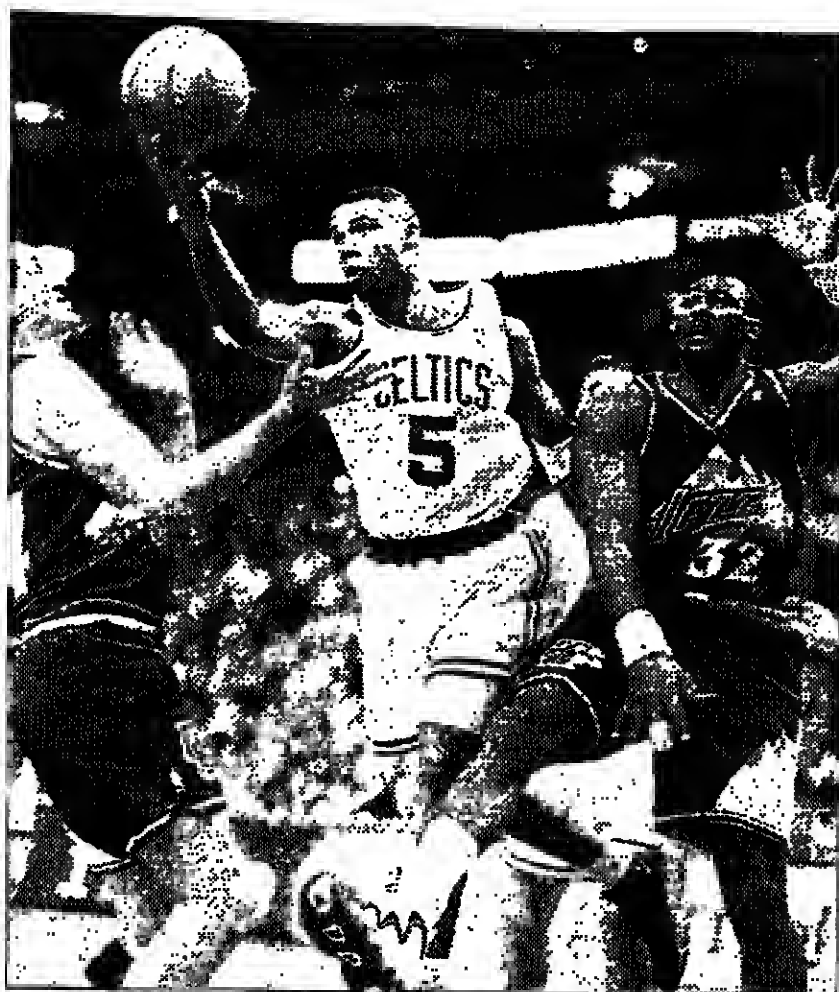
**Hornets 112, Timberwolves 102** Charlotte extended its best winning streak of a season to six games as Anthony Mason scored nine of his 21 points in a fourth-quarter run that pushed the Hornets past visiting Minnesota.

Massey added seven rebounds and three assists as Charlotte improved its 11-game home record against the Timberwolves to 10-0.

**Cavaliers 122, Raptors 88** Wesley Person tied a career high with 33 points and Cleveland reached a season-high point total in routing visiting Toronto.

Zydrunas Ilgauskas had 21 points and 7 rebounds, and Brevin Knight passed 17 assists. Rookie Derek Anderson had 13 points in 17 minutes in his return from missing 15 games with a knee injury. The Cavs were 6-9 without their 3rd overall 1997 draft pick.

**Magic 96, Sonics 83** Nick Anderson, back from a bout with the flu, scored 31



Ron Mercer of the Celtics driving through Jeff Hornacek, left, and Karl Malone of the Utah Jazz to score in a game that Boston lost, 110-94.

points to help host Orlando snap Seattle's five-game winning streak.

Anderson, averaging just under 28 points in his last six games, made 5 of 6 shots during a 32-point third quarter that enabled Orlando to break the game open.

**Jazz 110, Celtics 94** In Boston, Karl Malone had 32 points and 15 rebounds and Utah overcame 36 points and 10 rebounds by Antoine Walker to beat the Celtics for the 13th consecutive time.

**Lakers 104, Pacers 95** Shaquille O'Neal had 29 points, including a surprising 13-of-15 from the foul line, as

the Lakers won at home amid reports that their coach was about to be fired.

**Kings 109, Pistons 89** Corliss Williamson scored a career-high 40 points as Sacramento ended its seven-game losing streak with a victory over visiting Detroit.

**Warriors 90, Spurs 83** Golden State snapped four-game losing streak with a victory at home over San Antonio.

Jim Jackson led the Warriors with a season-high 26 points and Dooyell Marshall and Erick Dampier had 17 apiece to help the Warriors beat the Spurs for the first time in three meetings this season.

## Athletes and Rape: A Victim Reacts

By Robert Lipsyte  
New York Times Service

KATHY Redmond's father sobbed as she left for college in late August 1991, in two cars loaded with stereo equipment, stuffed animals and lacrosse sticks.

It was the first time she had seen her dad actually cry, but she was not surprised. Kathy was the baby of the family and among its fourth generation to attend the University of Nebraska. At 50, Bill Redmond, a former Air Force officer, still wore his varsity letterman's ring, for baseball, on the same finger as his wedding band.

Kathy, at 18, felt she was moving from one family home to another. Her dad's picture hung in the sports center, her grandmother's Russian sandwiches were sold in the stadium. She knew many of the athletic trainers from attending games and alumni events. Nebraska was the only college to which she had applied.

But according to published reports, within two weeks of arriving in Lincoln, Kathy was raped by Christian Peter, a Nebraska football star now with the New York Giants of the National Football League.

It was two years before she reported the assault. Her lonely and painful journey eventually drew her family into a maelstrom of rage and self-questioning that has yet to run its course.

On Thursday, in an effort stimulated by the recent suicide of the girlfriend of

another Giants' player, Kathy Redmond was to announce the formation of the National Coalition Against Violent Athletes.

According to Jeffrey Benedict of Boston, a leading researcher in the field of violent athletes, in each of the past three years there have been an average of 100 formal criminal complaints of physical or sexual assault on women by professional and college athletes.

"There's better reporting on the incidents," Benedict said Wednesday, "but I think there are also more incidents in recent years."

While the news media have increased coverage of athletes' transgressions in recent years, the emphasis has usually been on how a rape or assault will affect the athlete's season rather than on how it will affect the life of the victim and her family.

Redmond, 24, who has a degree in broadcasting and a public relations job in Denver, hopes to turn attention to the casualties of what sometimes seems like a jock war on women.

By sports standards, the coalition, which seems housed in Redmond's blue backpack, is not even minor league. The late-afternoon news conference on Thursday was scheduled for the YWCA on Lexington Avenue. There are no corporate sponsors, no teams of therapists.

Redmond's own case history is not available to her. As a condition of the out-of-court settlement with Peter and the University of Nebraska, Redmond and her family may not discuss the incident.

But Benedict's book, "Public Heroes, Private Felons" (Northeastern University Press), an examination of athletes and crimes against women, goes into some detail. According to the 1997 book, Peter raped Redmond twice, several nights apart, once in his dormitory room and once in hers. She did not report the rapes for two years, until other women had come forward with accusations against Peter.

In a recent interview, Redmond spoke freely about her own feelings of shame and isolation.

"I know I changed," she said. "I wasn't bubbly anymore. I was depressed. I tried to focus on schoolwork and get out quickly. Lacrosse saved my life. It was my emotional release; I could work out my anger on the field."

She eventually told her sisters about the rape, who told her mother, who kept it from her father for months. When Bill Redmond found out, he pulled off his varsity ring, never to wear it again.

Sharon Redmond said, "Something like this totally immerses and devastates an entire family."

Kathy Redmond searches for positives in the experience.

"My mom and I got really close, and I think my dad saw character in me he never saw before," she said.

She was angry when she learned that Peter had signed with the Giants last season.

"He got his dreams," she said, "but he took so much of my life and time away."

## Nagano Brawl May Cost U.S. Team

By Bill Brubaker  
Washington Post Service

The head of the U.S. Olympic delegation at the recent Nagano Games said he would "seriously consider" recommending to the U.S. Olympic Committee that it impose a "teamwide sanction" on the men's hockey team in the wake of a Feb. 19 incident in which an unknown number of players trashed three apartments in the Olympic Village.

Paul George, the U.S. chief of mission, said the sanction — which could include banning all 23 players from future Olympic Games and a White House visit in April with other Olympians — would come as a result of the failure by any of the 23 team members to take responsibility for the destruction during interviews with National

Hockey League investigators. "It's not something one wishes to do," George said. But he said that "if no one comes forward, if no one has the courage to 'fess up' — and they haven't yet" — then there is some basis to discipline on a teamwide basis.

"It's not unlike what a principal might do at a school," he said. "If no one in the class will 'fess up' to breaking a window, then perhaps the whole class gets detention."

George said he was troubled that in interviews with NHL investigators no player was willing to identify teammates who were involved.

"We remain hopeful," George said, "that someone on the team will have the courage and the decency to come forward to take the heat off the entire team, not only the entire hockey team but the entire Olympic team. But that hasn't

happened." The incident occurred between 2:30 and 4 A.M. after the U.S. team, composed entirely of NHL players, was eliminated by the Czech Republic.

Two chairs were broken, four walls and a door were damaged, and a fire extinguisher was thrown from a fifth-floor apartment into a courtyard.

Within hours after the incident, Gary Bettman, NHL commissioner, announced that the league's security department would lead an investigation to determine which athletes were responsible.

However, in recent days, the NHL security staff completed its interviews with members of the Olympic hockey delegation without determining who was involved in the incident, according to George and another official close to the U.S. Olympic team.

## Avalanche Sweep Past the Maple Leafs, 5-3

The Associated Press

Keith Jones, back from a serious knee injury, scored a goal and added two assists as the Colorado Avalanche defeated the Toronto Maple Leafs, 5-3.

Jones, playing in just his fourth game since tearing the anterior cruciate

ligament in his left knee in the playoffs last year, scored his first goal since April 13, 1997.

The host Leafs had trouble containing the Avalanche during the entire game Wednesday, with Jones

scoring the winning goal at 3:52 of the final period on a scramble after he retrieved his dropped stick.

Peter Forsberg added two assists, giving him a total of 52, to take over the scoring lead in the National Hockey League with 73 points.

**Rangers 4, Panthers 3** In Miami, Wayne Gretzky had two power-play goals and an assist to lift the Rangers and extend Florida's losing streak to six games.

**Canadians 3, Stars 1** In Dallas, Andy Moog frustrated his former teammates by making 24 saves as the Canadiens ended the Stars' six-game unbeaten streak. Moog registered his

370th career victory as Montreal ended a four-game losing streak.

**Oilers 4, Lightning 2** The host Oilers won their third straight, holding off a late charge by the Lightning.

Doug Weight, Scott Fraser, Roman Hamrlik and Dean McAmmond scored for the Oilers. Stephane Richer scored both goals for the Lightning on power plays.

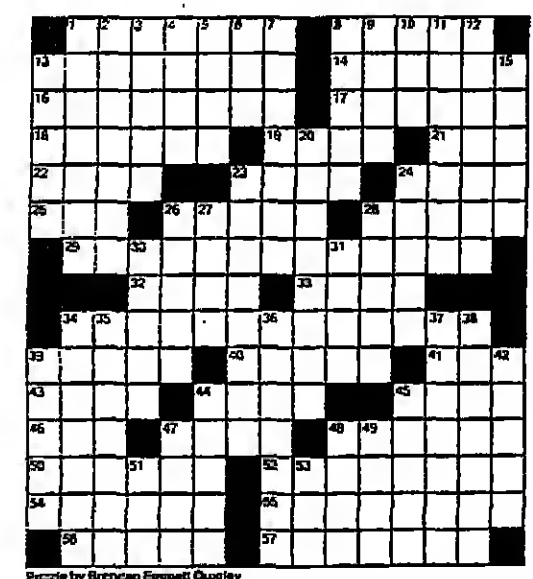
**Red Wings 2, Mighty Ducks 0** In Anaheim, Kevin Hodson earned his third career shutout with 35 saves and Brent Gilchrist scored a power-play goal.

Steve Yzerman added his 14th goal on a 2-on-1 break with 4:11 remaining.

## CROSSWORD

**ACROSS**  
1. Frowned-upon conduct  
4. A chorus line  
7. "Praise be!"  
10. Arm wrestler's pride  
13. Parking lot prankster, perhaps  
16. Porto — Brazil  
19. Singer Bobby and others  
22. Container weight  
25. Bourbon ruler  
28. Popular college items of the 20's

23. Hampers  
24. First-rate  
26. 90's singer  
28. Engine noise  
29. Three-time Best Actor nominee  
30. Dearth  
31. Mediator  
34. Sneaky sales tactic  
36. What roustabouts put up  
38. One of Oxford's colleges  
41. Ad —  
43. The gamut



©New York Times/Edited by Will Shortz

## Solution to Puzzle of March 5

ACROSS  
1. FROWNED-UPON CONDUCT  
4. CHORUS LINE  
7. PRAISE BE!  
10. ARM WRESTLER'S PRIDE  
13. PARKING LOT PRANKSTER, PERHAPS  
16. PORTO — BRAZIL  
19. SINGER BOBBY AND OTHERS  
22. CONTAINER WEIGHT  
25. BOURBON RULER  
28. POPULAR COLLEGE ITEMS OF THE 20'S

DOWN  
1. LESS HOPEFUL  
2. LA TRAVATA  
3. SUB STATIONS  
4. CREME CARAMEL  
5. DOUBLE PLAY PAIR  
6. CITY ON GUANABARA BAY  
7. BOND ORDER  
8. THEY'LL GIVE YOU A LIFT  
9. TEE OFF  
10. HOT SHOT  
11. COMPACT'S LACK  
12. GERMANE

## DENNIS THE MENACE



## PEANUTS



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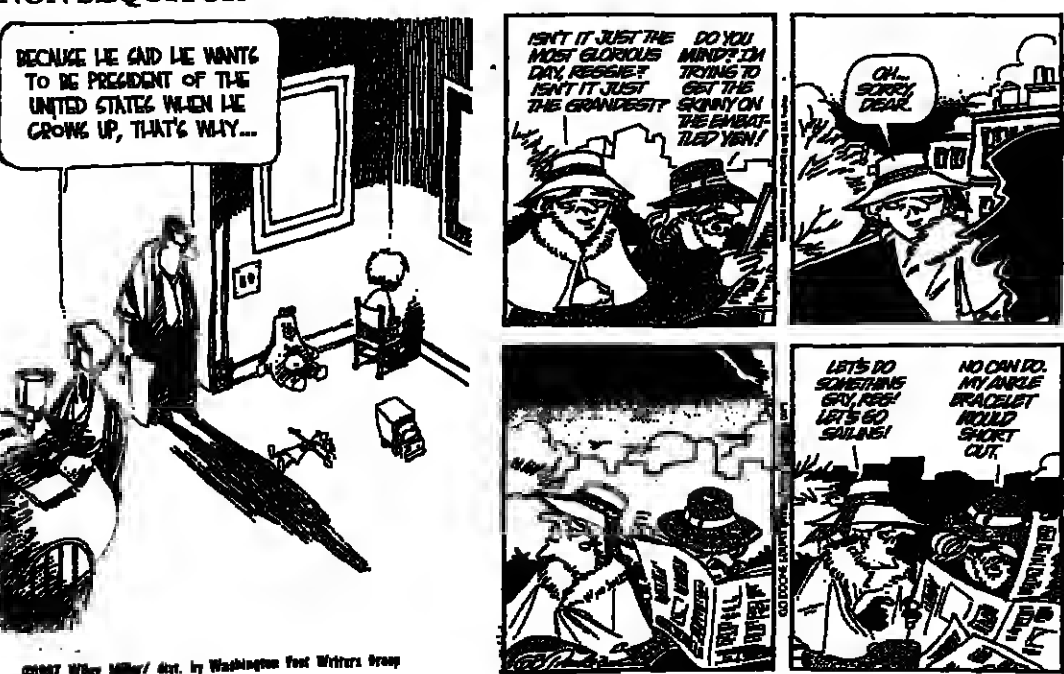
## CALVIN AND HOBBS



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## Sex in Shanghai

By Seth Faison  
New York Times Service

SHANGHAI — In China, the guiding principle on sex has long been a studied discretion. But Professor Lui Dalin says it is just plain silly that most Chinese are uncomfortable with public discussion of such a vital part of life.

So he opened the Shanghai Sex Museum, where he displays his private collection of several thousand sex-related historical objects.

The reality of sex life in China, in Lui's view, lives in a proverb: "Pale on the outside, glowing within." "Chinese have always been careful about hiding private life," said Lui, a soft-spoken man of 65 whose taste for silk cravats bespeaks a refined elegance. "You can't see it from the outside, but inside it is very active."

As much as Lui intends to bring sex into the open, he still curates his collection within the cocoon of old-fashioned prudence. The Shanghai Sex Museum, which he operates himself, is on a muddy lane at the outskirts of town, inside a gray, plain-looking building that is itself, yes, pale on the outside yet glowing within.

Chinese culture has tolerated explicit and implicit depictions of sex over the centuries, as Lui easily demonstrates. A painting of a scholar with enlarged genitalia shows one side, while the discreetly seductive maiden drawn on the outside of an elegant teacup yields another.

And on Lui's shelves, there is more: ancient copper dildos, silver rings that ladies of the night wore on the tongue to accentuate a customer's pleasure, phallic sculptures that mur-

al Chinese worshiped in elaborate ceremony.

Cloaking the heat and passion of sex, Lui argues, is simply unnatural and out of date. "The more you hide it, the more people want to know about it," Lui said. "The government should encourage an open and scientific approach to sex."

So far, no go. Chinese authorities allow Lui to operate his museum, but they have not offered official approval. Visitors come by appointment only. "It's still too early," he said. "Maybe in a few years."

Lui cites the rich sexual stories in Chinese literature through the ages, best exemplified by "The Golden Lotus," an intricate tale brimming with salacious descriptions of sexual intrigue in an aristocratic mansion.

The Shanghai Sex Museum includes many items used by ordinary people as well. Dowry paintings, for instance, were used in the old days by parents who, when sending a daughter into matrimony, slipped a simple print into her dowry package of silk bedding, to be seen by a bride just before the wedding night.

"The traditional attitude was: I won't teach you, I'll just hint," explained Lui. "People never talked about it openly, yet there had to be a way to teach your daughter."

Lui, who taught sociology at Shanghai University until his retirement a few years ago, began collecting Chinese sexual artifacts a decade ago after the police asked him to inspect some confiscated materials they had deemed pornographic. Lui was fascinated by the ancient paintings and sexual paraphernalia, and was distressed when the police insisted on destroying many pieces with historical merit.

## From the Former Material Girl, a New Tune

By Ann Powers  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Imagine Madonna in the most unlikely position she could take. Perhaps this: Alone in a silent room, lying face up on the floor in a yoga pose known as the corpse, crying uncontrollably.

The 39-year-old singer, notorious for being the preeminent quick-change artist of her generation, found herself in this odd and vulnerable situation more than once in the two years that led up to the release of her new album, "Ray of Light." She was not engaging in a kinky sex rite or a new performance style. She was doing what had not come naturally, she says — confronting herself.

"As my body was opening up and I was going into places that had been locked for so many years, it was releasing emotional things," she said on a recent afternoon in her Manhattan apartment, drinking ginger tea after her daily yoga session. "I'd be lying in savasana" — the totally prone corpse pose — "and I'd be weeping. Or I'd do a forward bend and tears would come to my eyes. I'd sort of get embarrassed and think, why is this happening to me? But I realized that I was going through a catharsis."

Meet the newest Madonna — a woman prone to uttering pearls of wisdom like "If you want something, give something," who admits that in the past she has been "selfish and disturbingly petulant," who has given over her impossibly taut physique to a discipline oriented toward letting things go.

After the Caesarean-section birth of her daughter, Lourdes, in October 1996, she tried yoga because her old regime of running and lifting weights was too painful. She just wanted to stay in shape but found the practice offered deeper lessons about, as she puts it, "desire and detachment."

She started studying Sanskrit and the Jewish mystical art of the cabala. These new interests inform

"Ray of Light," an hour-plus look below the surface that will horrify those who prefer Madonna down to earth and out to win.

She expects negative reaction. "There are still a lot of people who are really uncomfortable with these topics, and they're going to go, 'We liked her better when she was hitchhiking naked in Miami. Where's the fun Madonna?' But I think that I have the ability now to have more fun and be happier than I ever have in my life."

It is tempting to view Madonna as just another star calling narcissism enlightenment. Famous seekers have proliferated since the 1960s, from the Beatles kneeling at the feet of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi to Scientologists and Tibetan Buddhists like John Travolta and Richard Gere, hawking their lifestyles today. Such explorations have given the world, Stizley MacLaine's memoirs and the album Bob Dylan made in his fundamentalist Christian phase.

But Madonna is not like other celebrities. If a deity can be defined as a force illuminating the world, then she is a secular goddess, designated by her audience and pundits alike as the human face of social change. Intellectuals have described her as embodying sex, capitalism and celebrity itself.

"Nightline," enraged the Vatican and inspired countless articles and books — even one devoted to her appearances in people's dreams.

The last few years have seen Madonna's symbolic impact wane, along with her record sales, but lately she has landed at the center of another preoccupying public question: the uncertain maturity of the 1980s yuppie class. A generation that spent its young adulthood pursuing self-centered ambitions now faces questions of purpose and fulfillment.

Madonna's recent moves — proudly becoming a single mother, expanding her career as president of her own label, Maverick Records, exchanging rock 'n' roll outrageousness for the vaunted re-



Madonna says spiritual practices are releasing her inner forces.

spectability of show tunes — have been scrutinized as signs of a new style of growing up.

"People have always had this obsession with me, about my reinvention of myself," Madonna said. "I just feel like I'm shedding layers. I'm slowly revealing who I am."

"Ray of Light" is her testament to that process: not simply an inward-looking album, it is an inquiry into the nature of introspection itself. In songs flecked with phrases taken from proverbs and sacred texts, Madonna explores the terrain of the spiritual as she once investigated eroticism and social ambition. Once she borrowed sources and styles from gay drag queens and vintage Hollywood, now she mines Greek legends and "The Autobi-

ography of a Yogi." As always, she presents her own journey as a parable, something larger than herself.

"Even if I write about things in a personalized way, I also write about them in a universal way," Madonna explained. Madonna Ciccone, the individual, seems to have taken a genuine risk in opening herself up to self-examination and accepting that there is more to life than her own ambition.

She needed a sonic landscape for this new vision, and luckily for Madonna, one was bursting into view. "I had been listening to a lot of electronic and trance music," she explained. "It was just this blank canvas, a mood thing. It occurred to me that you could take it to another level by ac-

tually investing it with emotion." Madonna is not the first superstar to adopt this music's cool language for her own purposes. U2 and David Bowie both explored it on recent albums but sounded out of touch and a bit desperate. Madonna counts similar accusations now. The electronic kingpins Tricky and Goldie scorned her advances for this project, and she ended up making a more mainstream album than most fans of this music will tolerate.

It is easy to accuse her of jumping onto the cosmic bandwagon, merely to suit a new spaced-out sound. Except that "Ray of Light" is not spaced out. Madonna treats her lofty subject matter with the same unceremonious ardor as she did unwed motherhood in "Papa Don't Preach."

Emotion is the key to "Ray of Light," evident in the prosaic tone of Madonna's voice and her forthright professions. Collaborating with the longtime ambient music maker and pop remixer William Orbit, Madonna sought to link electronic's metaphysics with pop's empathetic heart.

The album gracefully connects current dance music sounds to older ones: its tracks recall early techno, Detroit house, disco and new wave elements that Madonna used to create her own body of work.

Grounding it all is that familiar voice, which has strengthened considerably over the years. No longer chirping like a Betty Boop doll, Madonna now sings like a completely ordinary woman, and that quality turns her new songs into revelations.

She renders their mystical pronouncements not as platitudes but as intimate prayers. They form a portrait of faith in the first person, connecting spiritual longing to the drive for sex and love, and to the sadness that comes with the knowledge of death.

"You can't help being sad and lonely when you're going through self-examination," Madonna said. "Because, at the end of the day, you're going to be buried alone."

## PEOPLE

THE actress, director and producer Jodie Foster is getting ready for another job: mother. The 35-year-old Foster is pregnant with her first child, the New York Post reported Thursday. "I couldn't be happier," she said. "But no, I'm not going to discuss the father, the method or anything of that nature." Foster, a two-time Oscar winner, said she expected to be a single mother "just like I was raised myself." She said that the baby was due in September and that she did not yet know its sex.

A Los Angeles jury has found an unemployed man guilty of stalking the director Steven Spielberg. The Superior Court judge set sentencing for April 22, at which Jonathan Norman could face 25 years to life in jail under California's "three strikes" law on previous convictions. The defense had argued that Norman went to Spielberg's estate in a "delusional and drug-induced state of mind that if he could get close to Mr. Spielberg, he could get into the entertainment field."

Calling Alec Wildenstein "super rich," a judge ordered the art dealer to pay his estranged wife \$140,000 a month. Jocelyn Wildenstein, known for what her husband calls "her bizarre psychological proclivity to have continuing plastic surgery," had been receiving \$50,000 a month since September. The ruling by Justice Marilyn Diamond, of the New York State Supreme Court, means Wildenstein owes his wife \$540,000 in back maintenance. The judge said that Mrs. Wildenstein may live in the family town house, where she caught her husband of 20 years with his teenage lover last September, but she must pay for vacations, luxury ser-

vices, food and elective plastic surgery and cosmetic procedures.

## A Correspondence on Hats

NEW YORK — Painstaking letters and sketches from Jacqueline Kennedy to her milliner are to be sold as part of "Nothing to Wear," an auction of fashion-related memorabilia at Sotheby's on April 8. The 21 letters and notes are mostly handwritten. Several still have swatches of fabric that the first lady attached to let her hatmaker know exactly what she wanted.

The ex-porn star Ilona (Cicciolina) Staller says she'll fight an Italian court ruling that cost her custody of her 5-year-old son. The court in Rome called her an unfit parent and "too permissive." "I love my son. I live for him," Staller said in promising she would appeal. Staller and her former husband, the pop artist Jeffrey Koons, have been fighting for years over their son, Ludwig. The latest court ruling gave Staller visiting privileges with the boy, who is to live with his father in New York.

A gossip magazine in Melbourne, Australia, apologized in this week's issue to Demi Moore and Bruce Willis for a story that said the couple's marriage was in trouble. Willis and Moore sued the magazine New Idea last year, denying that there was any truth to the story.

Stephen King, who wrote about the horrors of domestic violence in the best-selling novel "Rose Madder," gave \$50,000 to open

a shelter for abused women and children. The gift by King and his wife, Tabitha, means the shelter in Bath, Maine, will open sooner than expected. The check arrived on Christmas Eve, when the financial outlook for the shelter was bleak. "We started dancing around and hugging each other in the office," said Lois Reckitt, director of Family Crisis Services. "That's how huge a gift it was for us."

Robert Downey Jr. took another day off from jail to work at a movie studio, infuriating a sheriff who went to court to block his work leaves. "I've got news for Mr. Downey: He is a criminal. That's why he's in jail," Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block said. He said a sheriff's department lawyer had been dispatched to try to block a Malibu judge's order allowing Downey days out of prison. Downey is serving six months for violating his probation on drug charges.

The actor Danny Glover, best known for his "Lethal Weapon" films, has been named UN goodwill ambassador for a program designed to combat poverty in developing countries.



Jocelyn Wildenstein leaving the courthouse.



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